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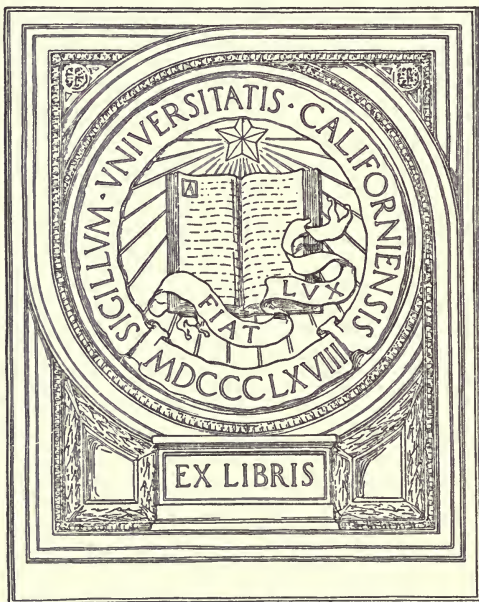


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# HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN NATION



By  
WILLIAM J. JACKMAN

|                            |                   |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| JACOB H. PATTON            | ROSSITER JOHNSON  |
| JOHN LORD                  | ROGER SHERMAN     |
| THEODORE ROOSEVELT         | JOHN HAY          |
| GEO. F. HOAR               | HERBERT WELCH     |
| JAMES BRYCE                | GEO. WM. CURTIS   |
| GROVER CLEVELAND           | HENRY W. GRADY    |
| CHAS. A. DANA              | JOHN H. VINCENT   |
| HORACE PORTER              | HENRY CABOT LODGE |
| BENJ. F. TRACY, and Others |                   |

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VOLUME V

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Benjamin Harrison, the great-great-grandfather of the present President, was a native of the Colony of Virginia. We infer he was held in high respect by his fellow-colonists, inasmuch as he was at times a member, and also Speaker, of the House of Burgesses. In 1765 he took decided ground in opposition to the famous Stamp Act. He was a member of the greatly influential Continental Congress of 1774, 1775 and 1776. As a member of the latter he signed the Declaration of Independence. The second son of Benjamin Harrison,—William Henry,—was elected President of the United States by an unprecedented majority. He was the grandfather of the Benjamin Harrison who was elected President in 1889.

Benjamin Harrison was born in the homestead of his grandfather at North Bend, Ohio. He grew up a farmer's son, and did his share of work when not at school. After being prepared at an academy in the vicinity he entered Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, where he was graduated in 1852, in his nineteenth year. His position was high in the studies required in the college and also among his fellow-students, he being especially noted for his off-hand



speeches, which, owing to their clearness of expression and appropriateness of thought, appeared to have been written out in his study instead of being impromptu. On graduation he began the study of law, and in 1854 we find him beginning its practice in the City of Indianapolis. In 1860 he was elected Reporter of the State Supreme Court.

Troublous times for the Union were foreshadowed. Fort Sumter had been fired upon, and that act fired the hearts of the loyal men of the nation. Into the preceding exciting Presidential canvass Harrison entered heartily, and was in deep sympathy with the political principles of the party that elected Abraham Lincoln.

When President Lincoln issued a proclamation for troops in 1862, Harrison offered his services to Governor Oliver P. Morton, was accepted, and authorized to raise a regiment. He acted promptly. On his way back to his office he purchased a military cap, secured a fifer and drummer, and at once threw out a flag from his office window and began recruiting men for the Union army. One company was soon obtained, put into camp and set at learning to drill, Harrison having, at his own expense, employed a drill-master from Chicago. The regiment — the Seventieth Indiana Volunteers—was completed in a comparatively short time, and the Governor appointed Harrison Colonel. Distrusting his own knowledge of military tactics, Harrison declined the office but was finally persuaded to accept it. He entered the service as soon as possible with his regiment, being assigned to duty under General Buell, in Kentucky. He commanded his regiment with marked success in a number of battles. Afterward, for his bravery and discretion, he was recommended by General Joseph Hooker, under whose eye he had come, for brevet in the grade of Brigadier-General, as an

"officer of superior abilities, and of great professional and personal worth." He received the brevet January 23, 1865.

When at Atlanta with Sherman, Harrison was ordered by the War Department to report at Indianapolis for special duty. That duty was to obtain recruits for the army. Aided by his popularity he was so successful in enlisting men that the work was finished by the 9th of November, and he was free to set out to join his command in the march to the sea, but being unavoidably delayed, he arrived too late, as General Sherman was already far on his march. He found, however, an order to report at Chattanooga. There he was put at the head of a brigade, and transferred to the command of General George H. Thomas, at Nashville, Tenn.

An incident that occurred here reveals in one respect the character of the man. The weather became unusually cold, the earth being covered with snow and ice; his brigade was at the front and the sentries placed, one of whom, R. M. Smock of Indianapolis, relates: "I saw a man approaching from the direction of the officers' quarters; I halted him, and when he gave the countersign and advanced, I saw it was Colonel Harrison. He had a large can of hot coffee, with which he regaled the sentries in front of his brigade, lest, as he said, 'they should freeze to death'."

After the battle of Nashville, Harrison was ordered to report to General Sherman at Savannah, Georgia; but having been detained, he was able to join him at Goldsboro, North Carolina. He remained in the service to the end of the war.

After the close of the war, General Harrison returned to the active duties of his profession, having been in 1864 re-elected Supreme Court Reporter. He was not, however, permitted by his political friends

to be inactive when questions of a national character were to be discussed, and in such debates he took part, especially in several Presidential campaigns.

In 1876, General Harrison was Republican candidate for Governor of Indiana, and ran ahead of his ticket, although defeated by a small plurality. He was urged in 1880 to permit his name to come before the people as a candidate for the Presidency, but refused. He also declined an invitation to become a member of the cabinet of President Garfield. He had, meanwhile, in 1881, been elected almost unanimously to the Senate of the United States. At the end of his six years' senatorship he retired once more to the practice of his profession, and while thus in private life was nominated for the Presidency by the Republican National Convention assembled at Chicago. More directly than in 1884, the canvass turned on "tariff reduction," as called for by the Democrats, and "protection to American industries," as the Republican motto. As stated above, Mr. Harrison was elected.

The ceremonies pertaining to the inauguration of President Harrison were the most imposing in our history. It is estimated that about 100,000 persons attended from all sections of the Union. The inaugural address, in its views of national affairs, was broad and comprehensive, and expressed in terms clear and terse. In respect to the principal feature of the discussion in the recent canvass, he recognized among the people a "patriotic interest in the preservation and development of domestic industries and defense of our working people against injurious foreign competition." In allusion to the first tariff bill of the Nation enacted by Congress and signed by George Washington, he said: "It is not a departure, but a return, that we have witnessed. . . . If the question [of the tariff] became in any way sectional,



it was only because slavery existed in some of the States." Again: "Surely I do not misinterpret the spirit of the occasion when I assume that the whole body of the people covenant with me and with one another to-day, to support and defend the Constitution and the Union of the States, to yield willing obedience to all the laws, and each to every other citizen, his equal civil and political rights."

President Harrison sent to the Senate for their confirmation the names of the following gentlemen as members of his cabinet—they were all confirmed within half an hour: James G. Blaine, of Maine, to be Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, Secretary of War; William H. Miller, of Indiana, Attorney-General; John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General; Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; John W. Noble, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; and Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wisconsin, Secretary of Agriculture.

The last of our national centennial celebrations—that of the first Inauguration of George Washington—took place in 1889. The Continental Congress, during the session of 1788, after it was known that a sufficient number of the States had voted to ratify the Constitution, enacted that Presidential electors should be chosen on the first Wednesday of January, 1889, that they should cast their votes for President and Vice-President on the first Wednesday of February, and that the two houses of Congress should meet in New York City, on the first Wednesday of March,—which that year came on the fourth.

On March third, at sunset, the citizens of New York fired thirteen guns in honor of the Continental Congress, representing the Thirteen Colonies that became independent States on the 4th of July, 1776.

That Congress was to expire on the morrow at noon, and the Congress of the new nation was to meet at the same hour. The morning of the fourth was ushered in by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells. At the hour of noon on that day, only eleven guns were fired; they were in honor of those States that had voted to ratify the Constitution—North Carolina and Rhode Island being the delinquents.

Numerous delays, caused principally by the badness of the roads, the distance and the slow means of traveling, chiefly on horseback, prevented a quorum of either house being present on the fourth of March. The Senate, however, obtained one by April first, the House having been ready for business a day or two previous. On Monday, the fifth of April, the joint Convention of the House and Senate proceeded to count the electoral votes for President and Vice-President. It was found that George Washington, of Virginia, was unanimously chosen President, having sixty-nine votes, and that John Adams, of Massachusetts, having thirty-four votes, was chosen Vice-President. Messengers were sent immediately and with all speed to inform these gentlemen of their election—Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress, to Mount Vernon, and Sylvanus Bourne to Braintree, Massachusetts. The Vice-President was the first to arrive in New York, having been escorted the entire way by volunteer complimentary guards of honor. He at once took the oath and entered upon his duty as the presiding officer of the Senate, which was already in session. Some days later, Washington also arrived, having come the whole way from Virginia on horseback. The Inauguration took place April thirtieth. It became the custom thereafter, but without legal authority, to

commence Presidential terms at noon on the fourth day, instead of on the first Wednesday, of March.

The Centennial of the Inauguration of George Washington, as the first President of the United States, was celebrated by the people throughout the Union; though, as was fitting, the main ceremonies, which lasted three days, were carried out in the City of New York, where that Inauguration took place. It was properly decided to imitate, as far as circumstances would permit, the manner in which the original one was conducted.

Washington's journey from Mount Vernon to New York had been a spontaneous and continuous ovation on the part of the people dwelling along the route, especially in the City of Philadelphia, and in the villages through which he passed. Only two of these demonstrations could be imitated with much appearance of success.

The first attempt was in bringing President Harrison and his escort, such as committees and a few invited guests, from Elizabethport, on the New Jersey shore of Staten Island Sound, twelve miles southwest of New York City. The great New York Bay, upper and lower, was swarming with ships of every description, in number estimated to be between six and seven hundred. The police steamer, the Patrol, with a sufficient force on board to preserve order, kept a wide open space through the midst of these ships, and in almost a straight line from Elizabethport to the foot of Wall street, East River, where Washington had landed. Among these ships were eleven National war vessels, with their crowd of sailors and marines; revenue cutters and merchantmen; private yachts, excursion steamers, iron steamboats, river and sound steamers; immense ferry-boats and comparatively small but saucy tugs, flitting here and there, but all under perfect control and in order.



The Nation's flag—now for the first time radiant with forty-two stars—was predominant among the gay emblems of corporations and private yachting clubs—the whole appearing like a collection of innumerable miniature rainbows. At the time appointed, the *Dispatch*, a United States vessel, having on board the Presidential party, started from Elizabethport along the open space. When approaching from the west she was greeted by guns from the war-vessels, and huzzas from the marines and sailors, the latter at a signal instantly manning the yards, while cheers of welcome rang out from the multitudes aboard the numerous other boats and ships.

When the *Dispatch* arrived opposite Wall street, in imitation of the "Thirteen Pilots," a crew of thirteen sea-captains belonging to the Marine Society rowed the barge which carried the President to the pier, where he was welcomed by the Committee, whose Chairman, the venerable ex-Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, made a brief but appropriate address. The procession moved up Wall street to the Equitable Building on Broadway, where a reception and luncheon were had. Meanwhile an interesting group of school-girls was waiting at the City Hall to receive the President, in memory of the greeting given to Washington by young girls of Trenton, N. J., when on his way to New York in 1789. The girls were tastefully dressed in white, and were selected from the Grammar departments of the public schools, while thirteen were taken from the senior class of the Normal College. The girls, the flowers, the addresses, the spectators, made a pretty and memorable effect.

The exercises of the first day were closed by the Inaugural Centennial Ball at the Metropolitan Opera House, in which a number of the descendants of those who took part in the one of 1789 participated.

The second day of the ceremonies was ushered in by religious exercises. At the call of the President's proclamation, services of thanksgivings for the past and prayers for the blessings of God upon the future of the Nation now entering on its second century, were held in the churches throughout the Union at 9 A. M. The center of attraction in New York was at St. Paul's Church, to which Washington after his inauguration, accompanied by the members of Congress, had gone to return thanks to God and implore His blessing upon the Government just instituted. Bishop Provost, Chaplain of the Senate, had officiated. In the same church President Harrison and the members of his Cabinet who could attend, were present; the services were conducted in the usual form, Bishop Henry C. Potter making an address. President Harrison occupied the pew in which Washington was accustomed to sit—which has always been preserved in its original form. Ex-Presidents Hayes and Cleveland were present, besides numerous other prominent men.

The assembly adjourned at the close of the services to meet at the historic place in Wall street, where stands a bronze statue of Washington on the spot where the original inauguration took place. After prayer, addresses were made, the chief orator being Chauncey M. Depew.

At the close of these services President Harrison proceeded to Madison Square, where he was to review the military procession reaching from Wall street to Fifty-sixth street—about four miles. For the accommodation of spectators—of which, all told, there were perhaps a million, as every available point for seeing was occupied—temporary platforms or seats were prepared in many places on the streets along the route, in front of public buildings and parks. The private residences on the line of march were

elaborately decorated. This parade of citizen-soldiers was the greatest thus far in our history. They came from twenty-three States, extending from Maine to Louisiana, and all along the Atlantic slope; there were present also twenty-nine Governors of States, who were mostly accompanied by their staffs. The whole number of troops exceeded fifty thousand. The exercises of the second day closed with an Inauguration Centennial Banquet.

The enthusiasm of the people continued unabated, and they entered into the processions of the third day with a zest equal to that of the two previous. The last day in truth, represented causes that came home to them individually, more than the displays of the other two, as it was an exhibition in favor of the educational and industrial interests of the Nation; showing the great advancement made during the first century of the Nation's life, in the paths of useful labor, of domestic peace and material progress in a Christianized civilization. The detail is too extensive for us to enter upon in this connection. The participants in the parade were drawn from the city and its immediate vicinity, including students of Columbia College, of the New York City College and of the University of New York; followed by boys, pupils in the public schools, 4,000 strong; and they, by the various trade and industrial representations. Applications had been received by the Committee, from civic, commercial and industrial societies—foreign-born and native alike, all of which designated the number belonging to each who wished to participate in the processions, the whole number amounting to 110,000; but the Committee was compelled to limit the number pro rata, so that only 75,000 could be in line.



## CHAPTER LXXIII.

1749—1890

### 1789 AND 1889—THE CONTRAST.

The Territory of the Union in 1789 and in 1889.—Its Comparison with Europe.—The Diversified Climate.—The Essential Productions.—Crude Manufactures and Trade.—The Two National Debts.—The Means of Playing.—Condition of the Churches in 1789 and 1889.—Zeal and Benevolent Institutions.—Theological Discussions.—The Effects Produced.—The Anti-Slavery Agitation.—Commerce, Agriculture, Invention.—Immigration.—Education.—Suffrage. Literature.—Language.

In closing the history of the first hundred years of the Nation's life, it will interest the intelligent reader to compare the salient points of difference in the conditions under which it began its first century, and those under which it enters upon its second.

The territory of the United States consisted in 1789 of a comparatively narrow strip lying along the Atlantic slope, extending from the eastern boundary of Maine to the northern line of Florida. Sometime before and during the French and Indian war, large numbers of adventurous spirits threaded their way westward over the Alleghany Mountains into the regions beyond. At the termination of that war a second migration, consisting of many thousands, began crossing over by the famous Braddock road into Western Pennsylvania, and there founded settlements in the fertile valley of the Monongahela. At the same time similar migrations were on their way from the same State, along the more northern road cut by General Forbes, to the vicinity of the site of the present City of Pittsburgh. Afterward, equally adventurous and bold-hearted emigrants passed over



from Virginia and North Carolina, through the south middle portion of the same mountains, and under great difficulties established homes for their families within the "dark and bloody ground" now known as Kentucky. These were the only settlements of that day outlying the Atlantic slope.

The opening of the second century in this respect is in marked contrast. It finds the Nation occupying a vast territory, extending east and west from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific; and north and south from the Florida Keys, the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico, the line of the Rio Grande, and thence to and along the Pacific Ocean, to the 49th parallel of latitude on the northwest, and a line drawn through the Great Lakes, and on the northeast of the 47th parallel. A further comparison may aid the American people to appreciate more fully their goodly heritage. The domain of the United States, excluding Alaska, is estimated to lack only a few hundred thousand square miles of being as large as all Europe. The territory of Europe extends from the Straits of Gibraltar to four degrees beyond the Arctic Circle; along this circle, on both sides, is a vast barren waste, because of the rigidly cold climate. On the other hand, the territory of the United States lies wholly within the choicest portion of the North Temperate Zone, as it extends from the 49th parallel down to within half a degree of the Tropic of Cancer; nor is there an acre of soil within its boundaries, except on the high mountains, that is unavailable because of the climate for pasturage or cultivation.

The contrast with Europe is, perhaps, still more remarkable in regard to climate and rainfall, as the United States appear to derive more benefit from the Atlantic and Pacific equatorial currents than both Asia and Europe combined. The Atlantic current furnishes the Gulf Stream, which brings the bless-

ings of moisture and warmth to Western Europe; but it also furnishes what is equally important—a copious rainfall to our great Mississippi Valley.<sup>1</sup> The Pacific equatorial current is the origin of the Japan current—three times the size of the Gulf Stream, and four degrees warmer—which causes the mild climate and moisture of our Pacific and North-western States, away up to Alaska.<sup>2</sup> The influence of this warm current, which expands all over the surface of the North Pacific, extends along the entire southern portion of Alaska, and to the south down the coast beyond San Francisco. The winds penetrate inland about one thousand miles, passing over Oregon and Washington and through the gaps of the Cascade and the Rocky Mountain ranges, until they meet and mingle with the western flank of the vapor-loaded winds from the Atlantic equatorial current. The latter are deflected by the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico, and flow north toward the pole to restore the equilibrium of the atmosphere.

The extent of territory occupied by the United States, and the consequent diversity of climate, render the American people virtually independent of the rest of the world for the necessities of life, such as clothing and substantial food of all kinds, the only exceptions being tea and coffee, chocolate, and a few spices from the tropics, that have in time become essential to the comfort of the people, and as delicacies for the table. We are also dependent, for the most part, on foreign lands for raw silk and india-rubber. Thus, the North and North-middle produce the cereals and orchard fruits, while the South furnishes tobacco and cotton, and the extreme southern portion sugar-cane, rice and sub-tropical fruits. It is interesting to know that the mineral wealth of the

<sup>1</sup>Natural Resources of the U. S.; J. H. Patton; pp. 351-360: 364.

<sup>2</sup>Nat. Resources, pp. 369-377.

United States, in its diversified forms, much transcends in importance all that is in the world beside, thus far discovered.<sup>1</sup>

In 1789 the only means of transportation within the Union was by animal power, such as by pack-horses over the Alleghanies, or traveling on horseback or by coach, while freight was carried in wagons drawn by horses or oxen; by sailing vessels along the Atlantic coast, or in scows or flatboats on the rivers. The great National road, constructed by the general Government across the Alleghanies, from Cumberland, Maryland, to the Ohio River, was finished to that point in 1820. Thirty-six years after the first inauguration of Washington, the Erie Canal, made by the State of New York, was opened. It united at Albany the Great Lakes with the Hudson River, and through that with the Atlantic in New York harbor. In after years a number of other canals were constructed in different parts of the Union, nearly all of which have been superseded by railways.

Two years after the uniting of the lakes with the Atlantic, was made the first railway in the Union; it was in Massachusetts, and was designed to transport granite from Quincy to the seashore. Five years later, our first locomotive began running on the Hudson and Mohawk Railroad. The building of such roads proceeded very rapidly, and in 1835 there were in the United States 1,098 miles of railway; but in passing over fifty-four years, we find that in 1889 they had increased to 163,362. Of the rails used on these roads about seventy-five per cent are, at this writing, made of steel, which is fast superseding those made of iron,—the introduction of an American-improved Bessemer process having rendered steel-making both easy and cheap.

<sup>1</sup>Nat. Resources of the U. S.



Other items in this connection are worthy the attention of the reader. On the through lines of railways from the Atlantic slope across the Alleghanies, the average of the charge for freight in 1865 was 2.9 cents per ton per mile; in 1889 it was 0.609 cents. On the Western and Southwestern roads the average charge for the same in 1865 was 3.642 cents; in 1889 it was 0.934 cents. The combined average rate of the same on these two divisions of roads in 1865 was 3.271 cents, while the average rate of the same in 1889 was 0.771 cents. The average rate per mile for passengers on these roads in 1889 was 2.246 cents. There was in the United States in 1889 for every 19.34 square mile of surface one mile of railroad; and one mile of the same to every 418 of the inhabitants. The gross value of these railways in 1889 was \$20,957,668,032.<sup>1</sup> What will all of these items be in 1989?

We of to-day, with abundance of comforts and home facilities for supplying our wants, have only a very imperfect conception of the difficulties, financial and otherwise, that obtruded themselves upon our fathers, when they were entering upon the first century of our national existence. The people, as individuals, were poor indeed, and so was the new government itself. The separate States and the Continental Congress were both involved in debts contracted in the war for independence. These debts of the States, as a matter of national policy, were assumed by the general government, but that was a transference made for convenience only, since the debts thus consolidated still remained and had to be paid.

The people, in a comparatively crude way, had made for themselves some domestic articles of prime necessity; when colonists they had been for the most

<sup>1</sup>Poor's R. R. Manual.



part dependent for these upon the motherland, while during the eight years of actual war for independence, most of their able-bodied men being in the army, those at home manufactured articles that pertained to carrying on the war, rather than those for domestic use in times of peace. Their trade among themselves (and they had none outside worth mentioning) finally degenerated into mere barter, because during the six years immediately after the conclusion of peace, when their sea-ports were thrown open for commerce, and before the inauguration of Washington, England, under her system of "perfectly free-trade, swept from the country every dollar and every piece of gold."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to this evil, rivalry between the States bordering on the ocean often led them to impose, each for itself, different rates of duties on the same class of merchandise, when brought into their respective ports, the object of each one being to secure the foreign trade as much as possible.

The whole people had also—in contrast with the present time—to enter upon a sort of apprenticeship, in order to learn how to make for themselves the best articles for domestic use. England had hitherto supplied these, and at her own prices. The contrast between the amount of manufacturing in that day and what it is at present is amazing.

The debt of the United States at the commencement of the first century was, in proportion to each one of the population, larger, and in addition was far more burdensome for the people to pay than their debt on entering upon their second century, when their facilities for paying it are so much superior. The national debt in 1791 was \$75,463,476; the similar one on December 31, 1890, was \$873,435,939.50, less the cash in the U. S. Treasury. In 1791 the debt

<sup>1</sup>Bolles' Financial Hist. of the U. S., p. 437.

was about nineteen dollars per each man, woman and child of the population. In 1901, estimating the population to be seventy-eight millions, the national debt was—including all immatured bonds and outstanding notes, fractional currency and certificates—\$986,550,547.

Thus far the American people have merited the honor of being characterized as "the only debt-paying nation." We cannot go into details; let a mere glance at their varied resources accounting for this, suffice. Notice the vast mineral wealth of all kinds discovered during the first century, within the Union; the abundant facilities for internal and foreign trade; the agricultural and pastoral resources; the numberless inventions that promote mechanical industries: all these, in their respective capacities, produce wealth, and thus indirectly afford funds for paying the national debt.

There are, however, other considerations worthy of note in a nation's life than those of mere material progress. The contrast in the facilities for extending the truths of Christianity and their civilizing influence throughout the land, and for promoting education among the people of all classes, is fully as striking as any other feature of this comparison. We have seen that immediately after the adoption of the Constitution, the several denominations of Christians took measures to frame their systems of Church government in such manner as to be consistent with that of the Nation. The remarkable moral and educational results produced during the first century, though in the face of numerous difficulties, have amply vindicated this. Within that hundred years, especially in the latter half, all these denominations have manifested unusual zeal in preaching the gospel in destitute portions of the Union, and in endeavoring to raise the whole people by means of education

to a higher plane of general intelligence, thus preparing them to enter upon their second century almost infinitely better equipped than were their fathers for a continual progress in all that is great and noble.

The leading minds in these denominations founded benevolent associations to aid in the cause, such as Bible, Tract, Sunday School, Home Missionary, and other societies. Meanwhile the private members of the churches nobly furnished the necessary financial means; nor were they lacking in individual efforts in their respective spheres of influence. This spirit also influenced wealthy men to recognize their own responsibility, and in consequence, within the period mentioned, they have furnished millions on millions for purposes of education. The church members at the beginning of the first century, as well as the rest of the people, were poor in worldly affairs; at the beginning of the second, they are comparatively rich, and in addition they have, prepared to their hand, these various benevolent associations and societies, which the wisdom of the first century has devised, and which appliances can be now utilized to the best advantage.

There is still another contrast. The commencement of the first century saw but little harmony or sympathy between the various religious denominations, but, on the contrary, antagonisms, especially between the two that were in union with the State<sup>1</sup> and those others that were not, owing to the harsh treatment the latter had so long endured from the former. The remembrance of these wrongs passed over from colonial times, and it took at least one generation for that malign influence to thoroughly pass away, which, during the first third of the cen-

<sup>1</sup>The Congregational in New England and the Episcopal in some of the Middle and the Southern Colonies.



tury, very much trammelled the legitimate works of the churches.

The above period was succeeded by another, lasting nearly forty years, characterized by an unusual mental activity in respect to theological opinions, which were discussed extensively throughout the Northern and Eastern States. These discussions took a wide range amid the respective doctrines of the churches, such as the scriptural authority for certain forms in rites and ceremonies, Church policy, the mode of ordaining the ministry, Biblical interpretation, and, in general, other leading doctrines of the various denominations. The religious newspapers and periodicals engaged in this work, and even a portion of the secular press, opened their columns to the disputants and treated the matter editorially.

These contests were mainly on points of belief that in themselves were non-essential, while at the same time there prevailed among these evangelical disputants a remarkable unanimity in accepting the essential truths of the gospel. The latter phase of the subject induced a sentiment of charity that continually grew in strength, until all parties tacitly acquiesced in each denomination in its own way preaching the word and administering the rites of the Church, and thus promoting the cause so dear to the hearts of all. In consequence of these mutual concessions, there came gradually into existence, toward the end of the second period mentioned, an era of good feeling among the churches, which prevails, more than ever before, in the entire Christian community. This was one of the most important legacies that the churches of the first century left to those of the second. There was, however, one controversy—the anti-slavery agitation—that continued unchanged among the churches in its earnestness to the very last, even until the war for the preservation



of the Union incidentally blotted out its exciting career forever.

At present, however, we see the churches of the United States entering upon their second century, never in their history so free from discordant conflicts, nor so abundant in wealth, in zeal and in the facilities for concentrated effort in their appropriate work, which in its greatness has never before been paralleled in the Union.

In closing this chapter, it is proper to notice the evidence of the deep underlying reverence that has always characterized the American people—especially those who are descendants of the original colonists—for the truths of Christianity. This may account for the fact that no special movement in opposition to the latter's essential and leading doctrines has ever originated in the United States.

In the early years of the Nation's century, there prevailed, to a very limited extent, a form of infidelity derived from the French revolutionists. Its views or arguments were presented, however, in a tone peculiarly low and vulgar, so that what influence it had among the people at large, dwindled away in less than a generation.

The modes of criticism tending to invalidate the authority of the Bible as the inspired Word of God, were introduced from Germany. In the same manner, the theories that would ignore God in His own grand law of evolution, or the gradual development or improvement in the order of nature, whether animal or vegetable, and likewise, the theory that "neither denies nor affirms God, but put Him on one side," known as agnosticism, are both exotics—they having been transplanted hither from the British Isles. In the same connection, it may be said concerning the writing of books of a decided immoral

tendency, that comparatively very few, as far as we know, are the direct product of American authors.

On the pages following have been grouped statements concerning the progress made by the American People during their first century in various elements of civilization.

#### PROGRESS OF A CENTURY.

This Government, founded on the recognition of the civil and religious rights of man, may be regarded as an experiment in process of trial, but with the highest hopes of success. It is natural that under such a Government the people should make progress in literature, in science, and in those mechanical arts and inventions that promote the comfort and advancement of mankind.

Let us take a rapid glance at the progress made by this youthful nation in the short life of one hundred years. Since the Declaration of Independence the number of inhabitants, then estimated at three millions, has increased more than sixteen-fold; and since the first census (1790) the number has increased from 3,929,214 to 62,480,540—sixteen-fold. In the same period foreign commerce has increased in value from twenty to fifteen hundred million dollars, while the internal trade has reached twenty-five thousand millions. In connection with this has been a steady increase in the facilities of communication and transport, first by means of steamboats, which now abound upon our rivers and great lakes; by means of canals connecting the lakes the great valley of the Mississippi with the Atlantic, and railroads extending to all parts of the land, and which have increased to an aggregate length of 163,362 miles, in operation or in process of construction, at an expense of nearly twenty-one thousand million dollars.

A steady progress has been made in agriculture, in which a greater number are engaged than in any other employment, as farmers in the Northern and planters in the Southern States. As an agricultural product, Indian corn stands first in value, eight hundred and four million dollars; wheat, five hundred and seventy-four; hay, four hundred and thirty, and cotton about two hundred and seventy millions, and so on through the list of crops; while the cattle numbered twenty-eight million, and the swine fifty-five. The products of the cotton and woolen manufacturers amounted respectively to one hundred and eighty-eight, and one hundred and sixty-four million dollars.

The inventive genius of the people has been active in securing the powers of nature in adding to the comforts of human life. In implements for cultivating the soil there have been innumerable improvements, from the simple hoe to the steam plough; and from the primitive sickle and scythe to the reaping and mowing machine. As striking have been the improvements in the steam engine; in ship-building, from the swift sailing clipper to the sharp-prowed ocean steamer—copied now by England's steam marine; and in printing-presses, by means of one—Hoe's—ninety thousand impressions can be taken in an hour. The sewing machine, that friend of woman, is a purely American invention, and so is that not less useful machine, the cotton gin. Fifteen thousand patents have been taken out in a single year at Washington.

We have seen the character of the first settlers of this land; their intelligence, their zeal in founding institutions imbued with the spirit of civil and religious liberty. The time came to welcome another immigration. In 1819 Congress first directed the collectors of ports to take cognizance of the foreigners



who arrived in the country, and make returns of the same to the Secretary of State. That immigration, subject to great fluctuations, in one year amounted to three hundred and seventy-two thousand. Of these the majority had no higher skill than to engage in the simplest forms of manual labor. They aided immensely in the development of the country; for none but the energetic emigrate to better their condition, and they bring with them that element of character so valuable. Without their toil our canals would never have been dug, nor our railroads built, nor the improvements in our towns and cities. They have received the recompense of their daily labor, yet, as a Nation, we acknowledge to them our obligations.

Since then, especially during the three last decades, the character of immigrants from beyond the Atlantic has materially changed. As the manufacturing industries of the country developed its resources the inducement for skilled labor was greatly increased, and a much greater proportion of skilful mechanics have come among us to become valued citizens, and train their children in our common schools to be Americans. The public lands, as offered by the Homestead Bill, have brought an immense number who have settled upon them as industrious, economical and thrifty farmers, especially in the West and Northwest. Intelligent merchants from abroad have aided in extending our commerce, and also an increasing number of educated men have found here a home and a field of usefulness, both as lawyers and physicians, and as ministers of the Gospel and professors in our colleges, and teachers of our youth. The whole number of immigrants since 1820 now amounts to about fourteen millions.

The cheap lands of the great West offered inducements to the enterprising in the old States to migrate,

and while they leveled the forests or brought the prairies under cultivation, the industry of the States they had left was stimulated, and, by means of manufactures and commerce, they supplied the wants of those who had gone West, and were themselves benefited in return by exchanging the product of their mills and workshops for cheaper food brought from the great valley.

As reported by the Secretary of the Interior, it appears that under that beneficent measure the Homestead Bill, during the twenty-five years it has been in operation, an area equal that of New England, the Middle States and West Virginia, has been taken up and occupied as farms by one million forty-one thousand six hundred and sixty-six families or households, which on an average of five persons to each, aggregates five million two hundred and eight thousand,—more than the population of the State of New York by the census of 1880. The recent yearly average amount of area settled under this bill is about equal that of the States of Vermont and Rhode Island combined, while the annual average increase of households has been more than sixty thousand. In addition nearly one-third as much area has been yearly sold by the National Government to settlers, who prefer to purchase farms in certain localities, especially along railroads; besides the amount sold by railway corporations from lands granted them by the Government in aid of the construction of such roads. The combination of the three systems speedily forms settlements sufficiently populated to sustain churches and schools—so dear to the American heart.

The youth of the land have not been forgotten, public schools having their origin in Massachusetts, have become the heritage of all the States. At convenient points Congress has set apart a liberal portion of the public lands for the special support of

common schools in the new States and territories. The older States, meanwhile, have been making laudable exertions to increase their school funds. The number of pupils in academies, and in the public and private schools, is estimated at more than eight millions; and in colleges, theological seminaries, medical and law schools, the students number about eighty thousand.

The general progress of secular education, as well as in religious instruction, prepared the way for a new form of usefulness; the young men of the Nation were induced as a class to make greater exertions than heretofore in the cause of morality, and to exert more influence by using their united strength. The first Young Men's Christian Association in the Union was organized in Boston; the second in New York City, and within a year ten similar ones were formed in other cities; and now there are in the Union 1,170 Associations having a membership of 195,456. These Associations, being an outgrowth of this age of the church, have, especially in the cities, ample fields for work in connection with church organizations. The members labor in Sabbath and mission schools; have libraries and reading-rooms—resorts for young men engaged in business—have Bible classes for their own members and for others; maintain literary classes as well as rooms for innocent amusements, and over all throw a Christian influence. In many of the cities Associations of Christian Young Women have been formed on the same principle, to promote a similar work of benevolence among young persons of their own sex.

Of two impediments to a universal education, one—slavery—has disappeared; and the other is diminishing rapidly, as the numerous immigrants, especially from Northern Europe and Germany, are superior in respect to their education to those of former



times. If no young man, when becoming of age, was permitted to vote unless he could read and write, we should have in less than a score of years a Nation in which there would scarcely be an illiterate voter. In these days of free schools, the young man who has not sufficient mental power to learn to read and write should be set aside on the score of imbecility; and if he has the power and not the will much more is he derelict of duty, and unworthy to exercise the privilege.

The same principles apply to Foreigners, who have ample time in the five years before they can become naturalized, to thus qualify themselves by learning to read and write; and if they neglect to perform that duty, let them be disfranchised as well as the native-born.

In no respect has the mental energy of the Nation manifested itself so much as in the encouragement given to the public press. The common schools taught the youth to read; the innate desire of acquiring knowledge was fostered; and the fascinating newspaper, as it statedly enters the domestic circle, reflects the world and records the progress of the age. By this means the most retired can be brought into sympathy with the world, in its yearnings after excellence, peace, and happiness.

At the commencement of the Revolution there were but thirty-five newspapers, and they of a very limited circulation; now, of all classes, are more than fifteen thousand. The population since that time has increased eighteen-fold, and the newspapers more than four-hundred-fold. Educated and accomplished minds discuss in their columns the important questions of the time, and upon these questions the Nation acts; thence they pass into history. If the issues of the press are kept pure, the blessing in all its greatness far transcends mortal ken. Public opinion

has been termed a tyrant; but it is a tyrant that, if vicious, can be made virtuous—can be reformed if not dethroned. Let the virtue and the intelligence of the Nation see to it that it is a righteous tyrant, and submission to its iron rule will become a blessing.

In intimate connection with this intellectual progress is the increase of public libraries, found in so many of our cities. There are now more than ten thousand, and they contain about nine million volumes. These storehouses of knowledge are as diversified as the wants of the people. Among them are found the Sunday-school libraries, each with its few hundred volumes; the social or circulating libraries, in almost every village or large town, and the numerous private as well as public libraries, containing much of the current literature of the day. An important feature was introduced at the formation of the public library in New York City bearing the name of its founder, John Jacob Astor, and since increased by his son. Other great cities have also their fine public libraries—notably a very superior one in Boston, and the art of cataloging and making available the treasures of such collections has made the position of librarian almost a profession.

In the departments of human knowledge and literature we have names that are held in honor wherever the English language is read: in History, Prescott, Bancroft, Hildreth, and Motley; in Systematic Theology, Dr. Timothy Dwight, whose works have had a great influence in this country and in England, and Professor Charles Hodge; in Mental Philosophy, Jonathan Edwards; in Biblical Literature, Edward Robinson; in Poetry, Bryant, Longfellow, and Whittier; in Light Literature, Irving, Cooper, and Hawthorne; in Lexicography, Noah Webster; in Mathematics, Bowditch—many other eminent names might be added.

In art we have those who have exhibited evidence of genius that may yet give the Nation a name honored among those eminent in painting and sculpture. Her sons have not been surrounded by models from great masters to awaken in early life the slumbering genius, nor have they been encouraged by a traditional reverence among the people for such manifestations of talent. It has been in the face of these disadvantages that they have reached their present high position, not by passing through a training laborious and preparatory, but almost at a bound.

We rejoice to see the great body of the people associating themselves for purposes of doing good or for self-improvement. There are in the land many religious and benevolent associations. Of the latter class is the Temperance movement, promoted at first greatly by the eloquence of Dr. Lyman Beecher, and which has had an immense influence for good upon the nation. The moral phase of the subject has taken deep hold of the minds and conscience of the people, and in the end the cause must prevail. There is also no more cheering sign of the times than that of the people themselves becoming more and more acquainted with their civil rights and duties, and in their demanding virtue and political integrity in those who serve them in a public capacity, and, when there is a dereliction of duty, their promptly appeal to the ballot-box.

Governments had hitherto interfered more or less with the liberty of conscience. They assumed that in some way—though indefinable—they were responsible for the salvation of the souls of their subjects. Free inquiry and a knowledge of the truths of the Bible, and the separation of Church and State, shifted that responsibility to the individual himself, and in consequence it became his recognized duty to support schools of learning and sustain religious insti-



tutions. This change in the minds of the people commenced in the great awakening under Jonathan Edwards, and its influence had full effect in the separation of Church and State after the Revolution. To this principle of individual responsibility may be traced the voluntary support and the existence of the various benevolent operations of our own day, in which all the religious denominations participate. These in their efforts are not limited to the destitute portions of our own country, but in many foreign lands may be found the American missionary, a devoted teacher of Christianity and its humanizing civilization, supported and encouraged by the enlightened benevolence of his own countrymen. The same principle produces fruits in founding asylums for the purpose of relieving human suffering and distress, or smoothing the pathway of the unfortunate. The men of wealth in our day more fully appreciate their responsibility, and the mental energy exercised in its accumulation has more than in former times been consecrated to doing good. Millions have thus been given by individuals to found or aid institutions of learning, that the youth may be secured to virtue and intelligence—a blessed influence that will increase in power from age to age.

We inherit the English language and its glorious associations—the language of a free Gospel, free speech, and a free press. Its literature, imbued with the principles of liberty, civil and religious, and of correct morals, belongs to us. We claim the worthies of the Mother-country, whose writings have done so much to promote sound morality, with no less gratitude and pride than we do those of our own land. The commerce of the world is virtually in the hands of those speaking the English language. On the coasts of Asia, of Africa, in Australia, in the isles of the Pacific it has taken foothold—may it be

the means of disseminating truth and carrying to the ends of the earth the blessings of Christianity.

The ultimate success of this Government and the stability of its institutions, its progress in all that can make a nation honored, depend upon its adherence to the principles of truth and righteousness. Let the part we are to perform in the world be not the subjugation of others to our sway by physical force, but the noble destiny to subdue by the influence and the diffusion of a Christianized civilization.

## CHAPTER LXXIV.

1890—1892

### HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION RESUMED.

American Characteristics.—Retarding Influences.—Two Governments to Support.—Indirect and Direct Taxation.—The McKinley Bill.—Lands Reclaimed.—Value of the Dollar.—The Lottery.—The Apportionment.—Debts Paid.—Hours of Labor.—Gift to the Exposition.—Revival of Industries.—Two Political Platforms.

The entrance upon the Second Century of the Nation's life is an important era in its history. The reader will appreciate what has been recorded in the foregoing chapter.

Humanly speaking, the new recognized characteristics of the American people, owing to the influences of which they are an outgrowth, will most likely be during the second century a prolongation of those of the first. These traits of character will be enhanced in their moral tone and in a corresponding progress in the practical affairs of domestic life, because of the continuous advance of the people at large to higher and higher planes of education and general intelligence. In these respects a retrograde movement was unknown in the first century, much less may it be looked for in the second.

The first hundred years of the Nation had, moreover, quite a number of stirring events and retarding influences that required wise statesmanship to control and adjust. The industrial interests of the people and their progress in morals were greatly hindered by troubles with the Indians and by three wars—that with England (1812–1815), the Mexican (1846–1848), and the Civil War (1861–1865). The whole



time engaged in actual hostilities in these wars was about nine years, while the disturbing unrest preceding them, and the time of almost equal disquiet that followed in the readjustments of the affairs of the Nation and those of the people themselves was about the same number of years—in all, eighteen.

The American people have two systems of government to support—the National and those of the several States; they have also two independent sources of revenue whence to derive the requisite funds. The construction of two governments, yet united as one, is different from any others in the world, and our having two distinct sources of revenue, which are not permitted to trench upon one another, is equally peculiar.

The National government derives its income from indirect taxation, in the form of import duties levied on property brought into the Union for sale from foreign lands. The term indirect tax is designed to express the fact that it is optional with the people whether they pay it or not; that is, by purchasing or not purchasing the merchandise thus taxed. The governments of the States are supported by direct taxation on landed and other property as their respective authorities ordain. The foresight of the framers of the United States Constitution (1787) gave Congress the authority in cases of when an unusual amount of funds were required to levy on home property a direct tax, known as Internal Revenue, to be repealed when the necessity for it is removed. The collection of the direct taxes of the States and also that of Federal Internal Revenue is enforced by law.

The funds derived from import duties are used for no other purpose than to defray the expenses of the national government. Owing to this fact, financial measures come before Congress almost every session,

because the progress of the industrial and commercial interests of the country often call for a modification of some items of the tariff. Again, sometimes changed conditions in the industries of the countries with which we have commercial intercourse have influence also on the same lines. For the above reasons the revision of the tariff became an important item of legislation in Mr. Harrison's administration, as the tariff of July 1, 1883, the most judicious one up to that time, had not been revised for seven years, though attempts had been made to do so during the four years of Mr. Cleveland's first administration.

The required revision of the tariff of 1883 was now entered upon and the outcome was the so-called McKinley Bill, thus named from the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means who presented it in the Congress—William McKinley of Ohio. In this revision the few objectionable features of the tariff of 1883 were eliminated, as they had in some respects retarded the industrial progress of the country. The tariff now enacted was up to that time the most comprehensive and symmetrical in its various provisions, on the basis of encouraging the material interests of every portion of the country, the gratifying result being an unusual increase in all our industries—mechanical, agricultural and commercial. This universal progress culminated in 1892—by far the most prosperous year in every respect that the American people had ever enjoyed.

A bill was passed (1890) which claimed, as forfeited to the United States, lands which had been granted by a previous Congress to corporations on well-defined conditions in aid of the construction of certain railroads; some of these roads had either not even been entered upon, or not completed according to the contract. This act restored to the public domain, it is estimated, about 12,500 square miles of

territory. Portions of these lands in the meantime had been taken up and occupied in good faith by a large number of settlers. Provision was made in the bill by which the Secretary of the Interior was directed to secure to these settlers, under the Homestead Law, their rights to the farms which they occupied. A just and proper provision was also made that, when these lands should come into the market, no one could purchase more than 320 acres in one block. This law was designed to prevent combinations of capitalists securing large districts of lands which might be held for speculative purposes, to the great detriment of genuine settlers of more limited means.

In 1890 two States, Idaho and Wyoming, were admitted to the Union. In the case of Wyoming it was enacted that: "Exclusive legislation over the Yellowstone National Park shall be exercised by the United States, which shall have exclusive control and jurisdiction over the same, except that civil and criminal processes, lawfully signed by the State of Wyoming, may be served within the Park."

It was enacted that: "from and after the date of the passage of this act the unit of value in the United States shall be the dollar, and the same may be coined of 412½ grains of standard silver, or of 25.8 grains of standard gold; and the said coins shall be legal tender for all debts, public and private."

For many years a fraudulent concern known as the Louisiana Lottery, as its headquarters were in that State, had hitherto evaded the State laws against that class of swindlers. A law, minute in detail and so framed as to cover every loophole of escape, including that of sending deceptive advertisements through the mails, passed both Houses of Congress almost unanimously. The dread of the penalties for



violating this law had the effect of driving out of existence that blatant form of swindling.

The Apportionment Bill of the Second Session of the Fifty-first Congress provided that after March 3, 1893, the number of the members of the House of Representatives should be 357; according to the census of 1890, each member had 173,901 constituents. (Each member of the House of Representatives in 1789 had 30,000 constituents.)

Two Acts of Congress, March 2 and 3, 1891, directed the Secretary of the Treasury to pay certain debts that had been neglected for years. One was to refund to the loyal States about \$13,000,000, that being the amount of a direct tax paid by them to aid the Government during the war to save the Union. The other was known as the "French Spoliation Claims," which had been due for a number of years—\$1,304,095.

In another law, the Secretary of the Treasury was directed "to purchase silver bullion each month to the amount of 4,500,000 ounces of legal fineness, or as much thereof as may be offered at the market price." The Secretary was also directed "to issue in payment for such purchase Treasury notes of the United States, in value not less than one dollar nor more than one thousand." These Treasury notes passed into general circulation, thus, if needed, relieving the money market. They were redeemable on demand in coin, and could be reissued. The Secretary was also directed to coin each month 2,000,000 ounces of this silver bullion into standard silver dollars.

The Harrison administration paid \$365,493,170 of the national debt, and thus saved an annual interest of more than \$11,000,000. The latter was done as a matter of business, as it was found cheaper for the Government to buy certain bonds that were not yet

due, and pay the premium on them, than to let them remain unpaid and draw interests. The Administration also left in the Treasury \$85,000,000 on March 4, 1893.

The Fifty-second Congress passed a law restricting to eight hours the working-day of all laborers and mechanics employed by the Government of the United States; and also providing that every officer or contractor who shall intentionally violate this law shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

In order to aid in defraying the cost of completing in a suitable manner the work of preparation for inaugurating the World's Columbian Exposition (at Chicago, 1893), Congress ordained that there should be coined at the mints of the United States silver half-dollars of the legal weight and fineness, not to exceed five million pieces, to be known as the Columbian half-dollar, because they were coined in commemoration of that Exposition. These half-dollars soon after became much enhanced in value as souvenirs of the Exposition. Congress also directed the Secretary of the Treasury to have prepared fifty thousand bronze medals with appropriate emblems, celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America.

As already stated, owing to the influence of the McKinley Bill—approved October 6, 1890—the various industries of the entire country began to advance rapidly. We will illustrate on only one line, that of imports and exports. According to the records of the United States Treasury, on June 30, 1891, the balance of trade against us was \$435,386; in contrast, on June 30, 1892, the balance of trade in our favor was \$201,875,686. That is, the value of our exports was to that amount greater than the value of our imports.

The election of a President was now impending, and the political parties used the ordinary measures in making their nominations. The Republican National Convention met in Minneapolis, June 7, 1892. After the preliminary measures were gone through, on the 10th the Convention nominated President Harrison for a second term, on the first ballot; then Mr. Whitelaw Reid of New York for the Vice-presidency, by a unanimous vote.

The Democratic National Convention met in Chicago, June 22, 1892, and on the first ballot nominated Grover Cleveland of New York for the Presidency. A ballot was taken for the Vice-presidency, when Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois received a plurality of the votes, and on the second ballot was unanimously chosen.

The platforms of the two parties viewed the affairs of the Nation from different standpoints. The Republican recognized the great progress the industries of the Nation were making under the general principle and policy then in vogue. The Democratic platform viewed with alarm the general policy and measures of their rival, especially as to the high protective tariff and the effect of the silver-purchase law, and ignored completely the then present great industrial progress of the whole land. The Republican platform said: "We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality." The Democratic said: "We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen."

The Convention of the People's Party met in Omaha, July 2, 1892, and nominated for the Presidency James B. Weaver of Iowa, and for the Vice-presidency James G. Field of Virginia.



The Prohibition Convention met in Cincinnati, June 29, 1892, and nominated for the office of President John Bidwell of California, and for that of the Vice-president the Rev. Dr. J. B. Cranfell of Texas.

In the election, held on November 8, 1892, ex-President Grover Cleveland was elected President.

## CHAPTER LXXV.

1893—1896

### CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

The Disappointments.—The Unrest; Precautions Taken.—The Inaugural.—Tariff Reform Proposed.—The Extra Session.—The Repeal of Silver Law.—The Wilson-Gorman Bill.—President Refuses to Sign or Veto it.—Revenues Fall Off.—Course of Importers.—Bonds Issued.—Importers Again.—The Revulsion in 1894.—Violation of Reciprocity Treaties.—Their Good Effect.—The Wage-earners Affected.—Several Platforms.—William McKinley Elected Over Wm. Jennings Bryan.—The National Democratic Party.

Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated March 4, 1893. He invited to his cabinet the following gentlemen: Walter Q. Gresham of Illinois, Secretary of State; John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury; Daniel S. Lamont of New York, Secretary of War; Richard Olney of Massachusetts, Attorney-General; Wilson S. Bissell of New York, Postmaster-General; Hilary A. Herbert of Alabama, Secretary of the Navy; Hoke Smith of Georgia, Secretary of the Interior; and Julius Sterling Morton of Ohio, Secretary of Agriculture.

The platforms of the two parties, as usual, had been published, and they both drew the line distinctly in relation to the financial policy that each one would carry out if successful in the impending election. The prosperity of the country was so great that the impression was general among the friends of the administration and its financial policy that General Harrison would be re-elected, and also a Congress in sympathy with the financial policy of the Republican party. They even felt assured that the wage-earners would vote to sustain that party in its

promotion of the industries of the country, in which none of its citizens were practically so much interested as the wage-earners themselves, if they desired fair wages and continuous employment. During the canvass a sense of unrest began to manifest itself in business circles lest our commercial and industrial interests might be injured. Yet not only the President but a majority of the new Congress was secured by the Democrats—and both by large popular majority votes. The wage-earners seem to have believed that the prosperity under the high tariff inured to the benefit of the employers rather than the employed, and the commercial classes were troubled by the fluctuation of money-values, which they attributed to the silver-purchase law. When the result of the election became known measures of prudence were taken in order to ward off the threatened evil. Manufacturers began to curtail their operations, and did not produce goods to be held in stock for future sales. They only filled orders, and these fell off to such an extent that often their mills did not run full time. Merchants also limited their stock on hand to meet only actual sales, lest under the threatened tariff reduction they might be swamped by an influx of similar foreign goods, produced under conditions wherein the wages paid the operatives were not half as much as that paid by the American manufacturer, and in consequence the foreigner would have a margin of a less cost of production, that would enable him to that extent to undersell the American, even in his own market.

Mr. Cleveland's inaugural foreshadowed the prospective policy of his administration along the lines which he had publicly advocated. It treated a number of subjects, but its main portion was devoted to the financial affairs of the country. He opposed strenuously the principle of protection as embodied



in the then existing McKinley law, saying: "This [principle] is the bane of republican institutions and the constant peril of our government by the people. . . . It stifles the spirit of true Americanism and stupefies every ennobling trait of American citizenship. . . . The people of the United States have decreed that on this day the control of their government in its legislative and executive branches shall be given to a political party pledged in the most positive terms to the accomplishment of tariff reform." It is worthy of remark that now, for the first time in thirty-two years, the President and the majority in both Houses of Congress belonged to the Democratic party.

The implied pledge of "tariff reform" in the inaugural increased the forebodings of impending evil and perhaps ruin to many of the industries of the land, which a few months before were so remarkably prosperous. This portent of evil came home especially to that class of citizens—the wage-earners—who for the greater part in the last presidential election voted the Democratic ticket, but now whose means of living for themselves and families seemed likely ere long to be much diminished because of lack of employment and depression in wages.

In consequence of the depression in general business and in industrial interests, the President by proclamation called an extra session of the Fifty-third Congress, to meet on the 7th of August, 1893. In his message to that body he ignored the almost universal opinion in business circles as to the main cause of the unstable industrial affairs mentioned above, but attributed them to another source, saying: "I believe these things are chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the general Government." Among the results of that law had been a great fall in the

price of silver and a corresponding rise in that of gold.

After a discussion in both Houses at intervals, lasting for nearly three months, Congress repealed the portion of the bill that pertained to the purchase of silver bullion. The unsettled business of the country still continued, the repeal of the silver-purchase law having scarcely an effect, if any at all, upon the financial and industrial affairs of the Union.

In connection with the repeal just mentioned it may be noted that the most important legislation of Mr. Cleveland's second administration was the passage of the "Reformed Tariff," popularly known as the Wilson-Gorman Bill,—thus designated from the names of the respective chairmen of the committees of the House and the Senate. The discussion on this tariff began in the regular session of the Fifty-third Congress Dec. 19, 1893, lasting to August 15, 1894. The bill was sent to the President, who refused either to sign or veto it, because he regarded it as not such a reform of the tariff as he had advocated and as his Democratic supporters had promised — promises which had gained them the election. The Wilson Bill, as passed by the House, had been changed and corrupted by the Senate under lead of the Gorman Committee. The bill was a botch, embodying the most objectionable features of both protection and anti-protection. Mr. Cleveland declined to be responsible for it, and let it become a law by the lapse of time it remained in his hands.

This act produced in a very short time sad effects upon the main industries of the land, even more distress, especially upon the workpeople, than the previous forebodings of evil had anticipated. The speedy transition from the unusual prosperity of the wage-earners to that of extreme distress was unprecedented. Soon their deposits in the savings banks were

exhausted, and great numbers of these worthy people, especially in the cities, were compelled to become beneficiaries of charity.

In respect to the revenues of the general Government, they also began to fall off,—both the internal revenue, because of the universal stagnation of business, industrial and commercial, and also that derived from import duties. In regard to the latter, when it became certain that the new tariff, with its lower duties, would be enacted by Congress, at once the importers began to hold back their goods from market in the bonded warehouses, so as to pay no customs till they could get the benefit of the reduced duties. During this time scarcely any duties were paid, and the national revenue to that extent fell off. When the expected tariff was enacted, these goods were passed through custom-houses at a comparatively low rate of duty and in vast quantities; they glutted the market and, in connection with the cautionary curtailment of our manufacturers already mentioned, reduced for many months the production of home manufactures, for, costing less, they of course undersold the domestic goods. In consequence, the duties paid by this great influx of foreign merchandise fell far below the financial necessities of the Government. Thus, for the first time in twenty-seven years the Government was unable to pay any portion of the national debt, and our characteristic of being the only debt-paying nation was marred. On the contrary, the Government was compelled to borrow money for its current expenses by issuing bonds to the amount of \$262,000,000.

In this connection we will anticipate. Toward the close of Mr. Cleveland's second administration these foreign importers took a course which in a manner was the reverse of the former one. The presidential election in 1896 gave assurance that the new Repub-



lican majority would return to the time-honored principle of protecting the nation's industries by a judicious financial measure. The importers therefore brought in an immense quantity of foreign manufactured goods, under the existing low tariff, and poured them forth in such abundance as to overstock the market for a year, if not more. Thus the Government failed to receive what was properly its due in import duties. Meanwhile the full progress of American manufacturing industries was also retarded for a year or more.

In an off-year election, that held in November, 1894, came the greatest revulsion ever known in respect to the members of Congress. The Fifty-third Congress, elected in 1892, had a Democratic majority in the Senate of seven, and in the House of ninety-six. The Fifty-fourth Congress, elected in 1894, had a Republican majority in the Senate of four, and in the House of one hundred and forty-four. History shows that during the previous thirty-three years there were only two years in which the Democratic party had a majority in both Houses of Congress, though during that period the lower House, owing to what was called the "Solid [Democratic] South," had a corresponding majority much oftener than had the Republicans.

Of course there must have been reasons which induced this radical and decisive reversal of opinion on the part of the majority of the people, as manifested by their votes in 1894. These reasons are found in legislative measures, which when put in practice affected injuriously the industries of the whole country, especially the interests of the wage-earners.

Mr. Cleveland and the new Congress had undone much of what the Harrison administration had done. The first instance on this line of action was in the case of the Hawaiian Islands. A bill authorizing

their annexation as territory to the United States had passed the House and was in possession of the Senate, but that body, for lack of time, had been unable to pass it before the Fifty-second Congress ended. Mr. Cleveland at once asked the Senate for the bill, which he kept in his own hands while in office. He did not believe in the measure, and the annexation was delayed four years.

The McKinley Bill had authorized the President, in order to remove misapprehensions that might arise, to make reciprocity treaties—with consent of the Senate—with other nations in relation to duties imposed upon merchandise passing from one to the other in the form of trade. When Mr. Cleveland entered upon his second term about twenty of these treaties were in existence—all the outcome of mutual concessions made in a friendly spirit. To these treaties the provisions of the Wilson-Gorman tariff law were more or less obstructive.

An instance or two will illustrate the advantages secured to the American people by these treaties. We import an immense amount of rubber free of duty from Brazil as raw material to use in certain of our manufactures. By treaty for the first time this was counter-balanced by Brazil reducing the duties on a great number of our various exports to that country. A treaty was also made with Spain, of mutual benefit to both parties. By agreement we admitted Cuban sugar free of duty and in return Spain reduced the rate of duty on a great number of our exports to her territories. One item may illustrate: the tax on American flour was \$4.62 a barrel, which was reduced to 90 cents, while in consequence of this treaty our trade with Cuba alone was increased seventy per cent. The new Congress, without consulting Spain, violated this treaty by reimposing a duty on sugar, while on account of similar legislation Brazil gave

notice of withdrawal from the treaty. That free sugar was a boon to those of limited means in the Union is made clear by the increase of fifty per cent. in its importation. The rich and the well-to-do never stinted themselves in the use of sugar at their tables, but those of limited means were now compelled to deny themselves. In addition was introduced other legislation hostile to the production of sugar in some of the Southern States, and also to that obtained from sugar-beets. This sugar legislation was popularly interpreted as a favor to our great sugar-refining trust and was one of the reasons of President Cleveland's refusal to sign the Wilson-Gorman bill. This kind of legislation predominated in that bill, which in effect prostrated more or less all our industries that came in competition with the low wages paid operatives in Europe.

(There seems to be a general difference of opinion between Congress and the men elected to administer the executive and diplomatic business of the country, for similar reciprocity treaties negotiated by President McKinley's administration have been refused confirmation by the Congress of 1900-1901.)

However, the new Democratic Congress was held responsible for all these blunders, and it was no wonder, as we have seen, that under a sense of wrong the majority of the people were indignant, and in the election of 1894 put their veto upon such incompetent statesmanship by changing the majority in both Houses of Congress. The change was remarkable in the case of the wage-earners, most of whom voted in 1892 in favor of the promised cheap goods under the proposed "Reformed Tariff." They were also duped by the specious electioneering slogan, "Let us have a change, anyway," which was proclaimed throughout the land. The cheap goods came, but the wage-earners had no money to buy—their wages



were diminished, while for the most part they themselves were out of employment. In consequence they saw their error, and went back to the party that always legislated so as to promote the varied interests of the people.

The people of the Territory of Utah having adopted an acceptable constitution, applied for admission to the Union. By proclamation of the President the Territory was admitted as a State January 4, 1896.

The new Republican Congress made no effort to amend measures recently enacted, which pertained to the financial affairs and industries of the Nation. Its legislation was limited to routine business, thus its various enactments were more local than national in their importance.

As the time (November, 1896) for the presidential and congressional election drew near, an unusual interest was manifested by intelligent people as to their outcome. This anxiety was owing to the then general depression in all business relations. The latter condition affected especially the large class of wage-earners and wage-payers, as well as the farmers and those engaged in commerce, foreign and domestic. These citizens realized most clearly that the result of the coming election must influence the future financial and industrial policy of the National Government.

The Republican party was the first to meet in a representative national Convention, in St. Louis, Missouri, on June 16, 1896. Its sessions were remarkably brief, lasting only about three days. The exigencies of the country may account for the unusual unanimity of sentiment among the members of this convention, numbering 924.

Mr. William McKinley of Ohio was nominated on the first ballot for the Presidency, and also on the

first ballot was nominated Mr. Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey for the Vice-presidency.

The platform adopted was comprehensive in its general principles. It noticed the depressed condition of the country and what they deemed the cause thereof. In referring to the principle of protection it said: "This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it lays the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market to the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman. Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy—they go hand in hand." The platform also urged the upbuilding of "our merchant marine." "We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression; and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty."

The Democratic National Convention met in Chicago, Illinois, July 7, 1896. The number of its delegates was 930. Mr. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska was nominated its candidate for the Presidency, and Mr. Arthur Sewall of Main as its candidate for the Vice-presidency.

The adoption of the platform was by no means unanimous. The chief contention was in respect to the policy of the unlimited coinage of silver dollars, and of making gold the standard of value in mercantile transactions. A remarkable change of opinion had taken place within the party. In the extra session of the Fifty-second Congress called by Mr. Cleveland, its first act was to repeal the law authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, as a measure fraught with great evil to the interests of the country. Now, three years later, the Democratic Convention in its platform says: "Recognizing that the money ques-

tion is paramount to all others at this time . . . we demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio, 16 to 1"—that is, strictly 15.98 ounces of silver to one of gold—"without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." But the minority report or platform declared that the above policy "would place this country at once upon a silver basis, impair contracts, disturb business, diminish the purchasing power of labor, and inflict irreparable evils upon our Nation's industry and commerce. . . . We favor the rigid maintenance of the existing gold standard." The platform reported by the majority was passed—626 in the affirmative and 301 in the negative. Both the majority and the minority in their respective platforms ignored the unusual depression in the business of the country, and especially the distress of the wage-earners, whose wages were much diminished, and who for the greater part were out of employment. Neither did they refer to the fact that Mr. Cleveland's second administration stopped paying any portion of the national debt, but even increased it by \$262,000,000. A resolution endorsing in friendly terms Mr. Cleveland's administration was voted down in the convention by a majority of 207. Mr. Bryan, a former Congressman from Nebraska, a man of radically socialistic and populist sympathies, had captured the Convention by a ringing speech for "popular rights," and the Democratic party was divided into two sections.

The minority, soon after the final adjournment of the Chicago Convention, resolved to form a "National Democratic Party." Its convention, consisting of 888 members, met in Indianapolis, Indiana, on September 2, 1896, and nominated for the Presidency Mr. John M. Palmer of Illinois, and for the Vice-Presidency Mr. Simon Bolivar Buckner of Kentucky.



This convention cordially indorsed Mr. Cleveland's administration, and passed resolutions in favor of the gold standard.

The convention of the People's or Populist Party met at St. Louis July 22, 1896. It indorsed Mr. Bryan, the Democratic nominee for the Presidency. It also nominated for the Vice-Presidency Thomas E. Watson.

The national convention of the Prohibition Party met in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, May 28, 1896. It nominated Joshua Levering of Maryland for President, and Hale Johnson of Illinois for Vice-President. The convention adopted the following resolution: "We favor the legal prohibition by State and National legislation of the manufacture, importation, exportation, inter-state transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages."

In the election of November 3, 1896, William McKinley was elected President, and Garret A. Hobart Vice-President, and the Republicans gained a majority in both Houses.

## CHAPTER LXXVI.

1897—1898

### MCKINLEY'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

The Inaugural.—Extra Session.—The Tariff, How Matured.—The Dingley Bill.—Interest in the Sad Affairs of Cuba.—Measures of General Weyler.—Efforts to Relieve Distress of the Cubans.—Congress Providently Makes an Appropriation.—Spain Virtually Declares War.—Volunteer Troops Called for.—Dewey at Manila.—Naval Blockade of Cuba.—Troops Land and Invest Santiago.—Hobson and the Merrimac.—Cervera's Fleet Destroyed.—The Land Campaign.—Santiago Surrenders.—Porto Rico Occupied.

William McKinley was born in Ohio January 25, 1843. His education was at first in the public school, but when a student in Alleghany College and under eighteen years of age he left his studies to enter the Union Army (1861). He served during the whole war: entering as a private he came out a major; he was in a number of battles, and received on several occasions the commendations of his superior officers.

At the close of the war he commenced the study of law, privately, but afterward entered the Albany Law School, from which he was graduated with high honor. At once he commenced the practice of his profession in Canton, Ohio, where he still has his home. He was elected to the Forty-fifth Congress (1877) in his 34th year, and for nearly fourteen years he served in that body. Meantime, he was an untiring student of all measures that pertained to the welfare of the country, especially on the lines of industries and finances.

In the Fifty-first Congress (1889), his ability being recognized, he was appointed chairman of the important Committee of Ways and Means, and as such

he devoted all his energies to complete the measures that came for consideration before that committee. The outcome was the McKinley Bill (1890). In 1891 McKinley was elected Governor of Ohio by a large majority; he was also elected to a second term (January 1, 1893).

President McKinley was inaugurated with imposing ceremonies on March 4, 1897. His cabinet consisted of the following gentlemen: John Sherman of Ohio, Secretary of State; Lyman J. Gage of Illinois, Secretary of the Treasury; Russell A. Alger of Michigan, Secretary of War; John D. Long of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; John W. Griggs of New Jersey, Attorney-General; Cornelius N. Bliss of New York, Secretary of the Interior; James A. Gary, Postmaster-general; and James Wilson of Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture.

The first administration of Mr. McKinley was noted for the enactment of financial and industrial measure of far-reaching influence, and also for the stirring event of a brief war with Spain,—both in the first half of its term.

On assuming office the President called an extra session of the recently elected Congress to convene on the 15th of March, 1897. The depressed condition of the general business and the industries of the Nation, and the corresponding distress, especially among the workpeople, owing to the influence of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff, necessitated this measure.

In anticipation of this extra session and of its action on financial affairs, and also to facilitate its work, the Republican members of the Committee of Ways and Means, during the second session of the last Congress, had unofficially conferred together frequently, and matured a tariff on the lines of the McKinley Bill, which had been so remarkably successful in promoting the various business interests



of the country. This self-constituted and earnest committee availed itself of every facility to obtain correct information by inviting hearings from experts and also from gentlemen who were practical managers in the various industries of the land. The result was a tariff prepared with great care, which was introduced into the Lower House at its first meeting and placed in the hands of the members to be studied.

The bill, having been thoroughly discussed in the House, was passed by a large majority and sent to the Senate. The Finance Committee of the latter body gave it careful attention for a month, calling for information from experts and business men. The bill was then placed before the Senate itself, which in the way of discussion went over the whole field, and, suggesting some amendments, sent it back to the House. A conference committee from both Houses went over the bill again, made some changes and reported it to the House. That body confirmed the report, and sent the bill thus amended to the Senate; and that body also accepted the report of the Committee of Conference. On the same day the President signed the bill, and the tariff known as the Dingley Bill became the law of the land. This financial measure is the outcome of thirty-five years of a series of tariffs, amended from time to time as experience dictated. It is so comprehensive in its provisions that it reaches every portion of the Union and takes cognizance of their varied productions.

The friendly relations of the people of the United States and those of the island of Cuba had long been intimate in the way of commercial intercourse,—trade that was beneficial to both parties. The better portion of the Cubans, especially the native-born, were goaded almost to desperation by the numerous acts of tyranny and injustice inflicted upon them

by the Spanish government, so that in self-defence they had entered a struggle for independence. The contest lasted for years. The taxes levied to support royalty in Spain were enormous and most unjust; the civil rights of the people were disregarded, while the venality of the island's civil authorities, the appointees of Spain, was well known to be almost universal. The American people sympathized deeply with the suffering Cubans, and their representatives time and again gave expression to their sentiments in resolutions passed in the national conventions of both the leading political parties. The United States government more than once proposed in a friendly manner to aid in remedying these wrongs; but though the Spanish government promised fairly, yet the oppressions continued to increase.

The culmination of these atrocities was reached when General Weyler, commandant of the Spanish forces in Cuba, in order to crush the patriots, who lived mostly outside the towns garrisoned by Spanish soldiers, put in force a system of devastation by driving the people who resided in the country into the garrisoned towns. This was called "concentration;" and the people thus herded were known as reconcentrados. The latter were thus deprived of their means of living; their homes and farm buildings were burned; their fields laid waste; their live-stock driven away or killed. This policy continued as long as Weyler was in office, about two years. It is estimated on good authority that 400,000 farmers or residents of the rural districts were thus reduced to virtual starvation, and in consequence disease, so that one-half of these poor people perished. The accounts of their untold miseries were heralded abroad, and even Spain intimated that gifts of provisions would be acceptable, and in consequence President McKinley appealed to the humane in behalf of the sufferers.

The appeal was quickly responded to, and provisions were sent in great quantities by American citizens. The distribution of these supplies was entrusted to the United States consulates, and to aid in the cause Miss Clara Barton, the head of the Red Cross Association, volunteered and did most effective work. Meanwhile, U. S. Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee at Havana, though trammelled by numerous other duties, did all he could to relieve these distresses. Strange to say, public opinion in Spain itself looked with suspicion upon those charitable efforts, while in Cuba the royalists were even more demonstrative in their hostile actions, so that the American residents became alarmed for their safety and appealed for protection to their own government. No doubt much of this popular enmity may be traced to the deliberate misrepresentation of the Spanish newspapers. For illustration: the President, in his anxiety to relieve these poor people as soon as possible, ordered war-vessels that were lying idle to carry these provisions rather than wait to charter merchant-vessels. This kind act was represented as a menace, and Spain was induced thereby to protest against supplies being sent in war-vessels. Again: these poor people, all their household effects being destroyed by the Weyler orders, now needed utensils to cook the raw provisions which they had received; but when these cooking utensils came from the United States, the Spanish authorities would not permit their distribution until the ordinary customs duty was paid.

For a time there seemed to be a better feeling on the part of the Spanish government, as it had given its acquiescence to certain measures and in some ways manifested good-will toward the United States. To reciprocate this disposition the warship Maine was sent on a friendly visit to Havana, as is cus-



tomary between nations in amicable relations. The ship was apparently well received, and under the direction of a government pilot anchored in the harbor. Some of the newspapers bitterly assailed the visit as an attempt to aid in the insurrection. On the 15th of February, 1898, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, the Maine was blown up. By the explosion two officers and 266 marines lost their lives. The news of this catastrophe caused intense excitement throughout the Union, for it was deemed an act of treachery on the part of the Spanish authorities.

An investigation followed, by a Naval Court of Inquiry, of which Captain W. T. Sampson of our navy was the president. The court made an elaborate report, which was rendered in due time. Article 7th of the report says: "In the opinion of the court, the Maine was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines." The Spanish authorities also instituted an inquiry by which the opinion was expressed that the Maine was blown up by the explosion of one of her own magazines. This report was at once published, and for obvious reasons.

The relations between the two countries became more and more strained, and several misunderstandings arose, which when taken alone in times of mutual friendly feeling, would have been easily arranged, but under the circumstances became very irritating. For instance, the Spanish Minister at Washington—DeLome—in a private letter used insulting language in respect to the President of the United States. In some unexplained way, but contrary to DeLome's wishes, this letter was found in the public prints. The attention of the Spanish government was called to the matter, and after some hesitation it disavowed what DeLome had written, recalled him, and sent in his place another minister. Soon

afterward, apparently in way of reprisal, the Spanish government, without giving a reason, asked that General Lee, our Consul-General at Havana, should be recalled. The President declined even to consider the request. Neither did he, as a matter of convenience, see any reason why he should not send supplies to the destitute people of Cuba in war vessels, to which mode of conveyance the Spanish government had objected. These matters seem trivial, but under the circumstances they were none the less irritating.

The general aspect of the condition of affairs seemed ominous of impending evil; the President was induced to invite prominent members of Congress and leaders in both political parties to a conference on the whole subject. The conference considered the proper steps to be taken in view of future contingencies. As a measure of prudence, as war seemed imminent, on March 6th the House of Representatives unanimously voted to put at the disposal of the President \$50,000,000 to be utilized as he thought best in the emergency. Afterward Congress enacted a special tax to meet the extra expenses of the impending war.

In the meantime the North Atlantic Squadron was directed to assemble at Key West, Florida, and other measures were taken in the general line of defense in case of war. Against these preliminaries the Spanish government remonstrated, but at the same time made similar preparations, voted large amounts of money, etc.

Negotiations were continued, but without definite results. Spain made proposals that could not be accepted, because they virtually granted nothing, and in truth gave the impression that in so doing she was not sincere, but preferred that her advances should be rejected. Meanwhile the Cuban oppressions were not relaxed and the opinion prevailed that a decided

stand on the part of the United States must be taken. In accordance with that view the President sent to Congress a message covering the whole ground—historic and diplomatic—in which document he gave among many others one reason that of itself would justify intervention of some kind, namely: “to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there [in Cuba], and which the parties to the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or mitigate.” He also stated—as to our own interest in the condition of Cuban affairs, endangering the life and property of American citizens there, and the commerce and even health of our Southern ports—that “the only hope of relief and repose from a condition that can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba.”

Diplomatic intercourse between the two Governments ceased on April 24, 1898, Spain taking the initiative, and thus war was in effect declared. The patriotism of this country rallied to the support of the Government and the President, the prevailing sentiment being that, though war was to be deprecated, yet under the circumstances this was a war which all recognized as righteous and waged in the cause of a humane civilization and of human freedom. This view of the justice of the war, also, appears to have been universal among the nations of Europe, every one of whom turned a deaf ear to the pathetic appeals of Spain for aid and sympathy.

Owing to the threatening aspect of affairs with Spain the President thought it prudent to issue a call for the enlistment of 125,000 volunteers, apportioned among the States, the Territories, and the District of Columbia, according to the number of their population. These troops were to serve for two years if not sooner discharged. The call for these volunteers was responded to promptly throughout



the country. Camps were speedily formed at convenient points in order to accommodate the recruits and to afford facilities for their effective drill. A month later the President called for an additional 75,000 volunteers.

While these troops were preparing, stirring events were in progress on the ocean. Commodore Dewey, commanding the United States squadron in Asiatic waters, consisting of six vessels, was ordered to proceed from Mirs Bay, China, to engage and if possible destroy the Spanish fleet in the harbor of the city of Manila, in the Philippine Islands, that archipelago having been for two hundred years in the possession of Spain.

When he arrived, at daylight on the morning of May 1, in spite of the information that the harbor was mined with submarines torpedoes and guarded by several forts, he boldly took his way into the harbor, and at once opened fire on the Spanish fleet of ten warships of different grades, and in a few hours captured or destroyed the entire number. The Spanish loss in men was 618; the Americans did not lose a man and only two were wounded. This marvelous result was owing to the skill and rapid firing of the American gunners, who scarcely threw away a shot, while the Spanish artillery was utterly ineffective. Three days later Dewey's fleet took possession of Cavite, a naval station in the harbor, destroying the fortifications at the mouth of the bay. Commodore Dewey, having no accommodation for prisoners, paroled all the prisoners taken in these conflicts. The Spaniards fought with desperate bravery, but were powerless to effectively reply to our gunnery.

While the operations just mentioned were going on in the Philippine Islands, military movements were also in progress around Cuba and Porto Rico, an effective blockade was maintained around both islands

and a number of their fortifications were bombarded from time to time and more or less injured, while some were totally demolished. The fleet in Cuban waters was under command of Rear-Admiral W. T. Sampson.

It was known that a Spanish fleet consisting of four cruisers and three torpedo boats had sailed from the Cape Verde Islands. The question was, where had they gone? Were they to prey upon our commerce or assail some port on our coast? The Spanish squadron eluded the American and finally slipped into the harbor of Santiago, on the south coast of Cuba. The Spanish Senate afterward complimented Admiral Cervera for "cleverly dodging the American fleet," though in the end it proved a great mistake. It was soon ascertained that the Spanish fleet was in the harbor, the entrance to which is a long, narrow and crooked channel. It was determined in some way to prevent the fleet coming out. Assistant Naval Constructor Richmond P. Hobson volunteered to make an effort to put an obstruction in the channel. With a brave crew of seven men—all volunteers—Hobson ran the steam-collier Merrimac to a certain point in the channel under the plunging fire of forts on the heights, and then scuttled and sank her, but the channel at that point proved to be too wide for the Merrimac to close it completely. In trying to escape the gallant little band drifted in a boat to the shore and were all captured. Admiral Cervera, recognizing their heroic deed, treated them in a chivalrous manner, even sending word to the American commander of his action, saying: "Daring like theirs makes the bitterest enemy proud that his fellow men can be such heroes." Hobson and his crew were not long afterward exchanged, though the Spanish government refused at first to make the exchange.

The Spanish forts having been silenced by the guns

of the American warships, the first landing of United States troops on Cuban soil was made at Guantanamo, a few miles east of Santiago, where 800 marines under Colonel R. W. Huntington hoisted the Stars and Stripes on the island of Cuba.

Immediately after the landing desultory fighting began and was carried on by Spanish irregular soldiers. To put an end to this annoyance, four days after the landing the marines suddenly made a dashing sortie, and routing the surprised enemy, drove them off and then completely destroyed their camp. In this spirited conflict about forty of the enemy were killed or wounded, while only one marine was slightly wounded. Meanwhile Admiral Sampson's warships shelled the forts and earthworks at Caimanera on the bay of Guantanamo.

A fleet of transports carrying the United States shore forces under command of General Shafter now arrived off Santiago, and a conference was held between Admiral Sampson, General Shafter, and General Garcia, the commander of the patriot army of Cuba. At this conference plans were devised to effect a landing of troops as soon as possible; the warships commenced bombarding at several points, and so effectively that the way was cleared and the landing was made in the vicinity of Santiago and without much difficulty, as the Spanish troops retired to the neighboring hills, but kept up a desultory firing at long range.

Our army numbered 815 officers and 16,072 soldiers, of whom about three-fourths were regulars. Cable communication was at once direct with Washington from Playa del Este, the point where the landing was effected. A few days afterward a reenforcement of 1600 men joined the main body.

Connected with this army was a unique regiment of cavalry known as "Rough Riders." They were



mostly "cowboys" from the plains of the West, and were famed for their skill in horsemanship and their fearlessness of character. Mr. Theodore Roosevelt of New York, who owned ranches in the West, and had had much experience in company with these men, recognized the good qualities of the daring fellows, and they looked upon him as a leader in whom they had implicit faith. At Roosevelt's request they enlisted for the war. He declined to be their leader, and Dr. Leonard Wood, an army surgeon of long experience on the Western plains, was made Colonel, Roosevelt taking the position of Lieutenant-Colonel. Wood was soon put in charge of a brigade, and Roosevelt became Colonel.

These "Rough Riders" and detachments of other cavalry of the regular army, including colored troops, had a spirited battle with about 2,000 Spanish troops at Juragua, near Santiago. The enemy, discomfited by their dash, was thrown into confusion and driven off the field. The American loss was twelve killed and forty wounded, the Spanish loss being much heavier.

The advance on Santiago was delayed some days because of the lack of facilities for moving, such as for transportation of provisions, and also the non-arrival of siege guns. The climate was alternately hot by day and cold by night; there were no proper roads; barbed-wire obstructions hindered the advance; rations were few; rain fell in torrents. At length two divisions of General Shafter's army advanced and were met by Spanish troops in front of Santiago. Our forces had marched north from the coast, and under Generals Lawton, Kent, and Wheeler (with the cavalry) attacked two fortified places to the east of Santiago,—San Juan Hill and El Caney. The Americans after severe fighting captured both of these places, at the expense of nearly 1600 men

killed and wounded, the Spanish loss being estimated at double that number. The following day the invading army kept pressing on and the enemy were driven back, so that on the third day General Shafter's forces invested Santiago itself, and demanded its surrender within thirty-six hours, with the threat of bombardment from both army and fleet in case of refusal. The demand was refused.

Before the thirty-six hours expired other operations arrested the attention of both parties. If the city should be taken, Admiral Cervera's fleet would be at a great disadvantage in contending with batteries placed on shore. His fleet had been shut in the harbor about two months and a half, and the Admiral determined to make an attempt to escape with his seven warships. The latter passed in file around the Merrimac hulk on Sunday morning, July 3, but only to meet at the mouth of the harbor the American warships waiting in readiness. Two of the Spanish torpedo boats—the *Furor* and the *Pluton*—were the first to come out; they were soon destroyed by the improvised American torpedo boat *Gloucester*—formerly the yacht *Corsair*—under Commander Richard Wainwright. The *Gloucester's* rapid and accurate firing guns gave the crews of the *Furor* and the *Pluton* no opportunity to reply. Meantime, the three Spanish cruisers *Infanta Maria Teresa*, *Almirante Oquendo* and *Vizcaya*, as they came out, were attacked by the armored cruiser *Brooklyn*, Commander Schley; the *Oregon*, Captain Clark—which a day or two before had arrived from Honolulu; the *Iowa*, Captain Evans, the *Indiana*, Captain Taylor, and the *Texas*, Captain Philip.

The three Spanish cruisers were soon driven ashore, about four miles from the entrance to the harbor, where, our exploding shells having set fire to them they were burned and blown up. The warship Chris-

tobal Colon, being of extra speed, tried by not engaging in the fight to escape; thus she had quite a start. But the battleship Oregon began the pursuit, ably aided by the Brooklyn, and after a chase of about fifty miles the Colon was overtaken. But the Spanish crew, in order that the Colon might not fall into the hands of the Americans uninjured, opened all the sea-valves and thus caused her to fill and sink. Of the American warships only the Brooklyn and Iowa were struck five or six times; but one American was killed and three were wounded. The Spanish fleet lost six ships, 510 killed and wounded, and 1774 prisoners; the latter were sent at once to the United States, to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Commander Wainwright courteously received on board the Gloucester Admiral Cervera, who was slightly wounded, and a number of Spanish officers, for whose comfort was assigned a cabin. In about a fortnight they were transferred as prisoners of war to Annapolis, Maryland. It is worthy of note that the Americans showed quite as much bravery in rescuing the despairing Spaniards from their dangerous position on their burning and exploding war-ships as in the battle itself.

Rear Admiral Sampson and his flagship New York happened to be some ten miles distant along the coast on a tour of inspection, and as the Spanish war-ships did not attempt to escape in his direction, he was unable to reach the scene of the conflict in person. But he was there in spirit and influence, for just as his admirable planning had sealed up the harbors of Havana and San Juan (Porto Rico), so the prompt following of his instructions on the appearance of the escaping Spanish fleet at Santiago harbor resulted in that fleet's destruction. Much controversy has been had over this, but needlessly. On the one hand, the victory was that of Sampson's fleet, and on the other,



as one of the captains cheerily said, "There is glory enough to go round!"

During this battle an incident occurred that deserves mention. When one of the Spanish ships sought safety by running plump on the shore, the men on the battleship Texas raised a cheer. Captain Philip called out: "Boys, don't cheer; the poor fellows are dying. Don't cheer; don't cheer!" When the conflict was over he called the men on deck and asked them to reverently bow their heads and each one in his own way return thanks to God for their success and the safety of so many, as only one of their comrades had fallen.

In accordance with a proclamation of the President thanksgiving services were held on the following Sunday in the churches throughout the Union in gratitude for the successes of the American army and navy, and with ardent prayers for the speedy return of peace.

After the destruction of the Spanish fleet there was some desultory fighting and bombarding of fortifications around Santiago, but without permanent results. Overtures, meanwhile, were made to General Torral, who was in command, in respect to surrendering the city, and an armistice was agreed upon to enable General Torral to communicate with the government at Madrid. The outcome was that a formal surrender was agreed upon and made: the Spanish troops to march out with the honors of war and lay down their arms. It was also stipulated that these prisoners of war should be transported to Spain at the expense of the United States. In consequence our forces took possession of Santiago, and the United States flag was hoisted over the Governor's palace. In a short time a contract for transporting these prisoners home was awarded the Spanish Transatlan-

tic Company, which agreement was carried out in due time.

The utter destruction of Cervera's fleet had a most demoralizing effect upon the Spanish forces in Cuba and Porto Rico. The impression was abroad among them that Spanish rule in the islands was about to end, and in consequence they entered upon a defence or an attack in a half-hearted spirit. Porto Rico, in comparison with Cuba, was a sort of side issue, yet an expedition was organized to capture that island. General Miles in command, a force of soldiers and marines landed on the south coast near the city of Ponce, and after a short conflict in its suburbs drove off the opposing force. A few days later the Americans occupied both the port and the city of Ponce, the Spanish therein having surrendered. Afterward a few towns were taken; the garrisons, making but a show of defence, either surrendered or retired. Meanwhile the Porto Rican people everywhere welcomed the American troops, looking upon them as deliverers from oppression. The Spanish forces at several places on the island held out for a time, but finally gave up the cause, as they had heard the rumors of peace and its conditions, and they surrendered in great numbers.

## CHAPTER LXXVII.

1898—1900

### McKINLEY'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

Affairs in the Philippines.—Aguinaldo.—His Proclamation.—Manila Occupied.—The French Minister at Washington Speaks in Behalf of Spain.—Peace Commissioners.—Cuban Debt.—Spain Cedes Territory.—Adjustment of Railroad Debts.—The Gold Standard.—Porto Rican Tariff.—Hawaii Annexed.—Alaska.—McKinley and Roosevelt Nominated by the Republicans.—Wm. J. Bryan by the Democrats.—Several Platforms.—Re-election of McKinley.

We now return to the affairs in the Philippine Islands. Commodore Dewey—or, as he was now promoted to be, Rear-Admiral—was cramped in his efforts to secure what his victory had gained, because he had not sufficient land forces to occupy important places on shore. At first the Filipinos who were in insurrection against the Spanish authorities were universally willing to act in concert with the Americans, but afterward a comparatively small portion of them were induced to become hostile to the rule of the United States.

One Emilio Aguinaldo, who had been a leader among the insurgents against Spain, had previously left the islands at the close of the former insurrection, and was in China, and when Dewey's fleet sailed for Manila he was permitted to go on board one of the vessels, as both the U. S. Consul at Hong Kong and Dewey thought he would be useful in securing the aid of the insurgent natives against the Spaniards. After the battle in Manila Harbor Aguinaldo went ashore, and ere long was in command of the army gathered by the insurgents, and at first acted



in concert with the American forces as efficient allies. But as the Spanish losses continued, the hopes of the Filipinos for the independence they had fought for in both insurrections grew more confident. Admiral Dewey reported early in June that they had taken 1,800 prisoners, and by the 20th this number was increased to 4,000. Finally, without consultation with the American authorities, Aguinaldo came out with a proclamation announcing a provisional government for the Philippine Islands, and a declaration of independence of Spanish authority. There is no evidence that he was elected by his followers, but there is that he assumed the Presidency of the improvised provisional government—doubtless, however, by general consent, as he was their recognized leader. He announced that he would not oppose an American protectorate for his government. The insurgents continued to harass the Spanish.

At length General Merritt, who had been appointed Military Governor of the Philippines, arrived at Manila on the warship *Monterey*, which was accompanied by transports on board of which were United States troops. Admiral Dewey was prepared to act in connection with these land forces, and accordingly he and General Merritt demanded the surrender of Manila, which was refused. The fleet opened fire upon the fortification at 9:30 A. M., and at once the land forces opened from their trenches under General E. V. Greene. This occurred the day after the signature of the peace negotiations between Spain and the United States, unknown to the forces in the Philippines. At 1 P. M. the Spanish forces surrendered, and Manila was occupied by the Americans. The intense hatred of the Filipinos toward the Spaniards was well known, as well as their love of plunder, and for that reason they could not be trusted within the city, lest they should pillage it indiscriminately

This exclusion from what they had long coveted made them exceedingly angry and revengeful.

Both Spain and the United States, however, were ready before this to enter upon negotiations for peace. The first overture on the subject was in behalf of Spain and was presented by M. Jules Cambon, the French Minister at Washington. It was of course well received by the President. Then commenced a series of correspondence. In the meantime an armistice was proclaimed by the President, and word was sent as soon as possible to the respective commanding officers.

A protocol or preliminary document was drawn up in which was defined in general terms the basis of the Treaty of Peace about to be concluded. It was signed on the part of the United States by William R. Day, Secretary of State, and on behalf of Spain by his Excellency Jules Cambon, Minister to the United States from the Republic of France. The protocol was adopted (September 10th) by the Spanish Senate, and was signed the following day by the Queen Regent.

According to the agreement, each party was to appoint five Commissioners to the Peace Convention, which was to meet in Paris on the first day of the following October. On the part of the United States five Commissioners were appointed, consisting of the Hon. William R. Day, of Ohio, United States Senators Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, William P. Frye of Maine, George Gray of Delaware, and Whitelaw Reid of New York. The Spanish government also appointed five Commissioners, of whom as chief was Senor Montero Rios, president of the Spanish Senate.

The first joint session of the Convention was held in Paris October 1st, in apartments assigned for the purpose at the French Foreign Office. The Convention was guided by and limited to the consideration

of the items recorded in the protocol. But incidentally came up what was called the Cuban debt, which was said to have been contracted in the form of bonds issued for the benefit of Spain alone, but credited as if belonging to Cuba, whose people derived no advantage from them. The American Commissioners refused to consider the matter, first, because it was outside the protocol, and secondly, this debt was a matter for Spain alone. In this view of the case the Spanish Commissioners temporarily acquiesced, and the subject was left to future negotiation. The Convention continued its sessions, carefully discussing every point at issue, and after two months and ten days the Treaty of Peace was signed by all the Commissioners; this was six months and sixteen days after the war was declared.

The leading features of the treaty were the relinquishment by Spain of all sovereignty over Cuba, the cession to the United States of Porto Rico, and in the East Indies of the Philippine Islands and also the island of Guam in the Ladrones—the latter a way-station on the route from Manila to Honolulu. The United States agreed to pay for the Philippines \$20,000,000.

On March 17, 1899, the Queen Regent of Spain signed the treaty, which was transmitted to M. Cambon, who communicated with our Secretary of State, Mr. John Hay. The formal exchange of ratifications took place at Washington April 11, 1899.

The United States Government entered at once upon redeeming the pledges given the world, that by intervention it would relieve the people of Cuba and Porto Rico, who were struggling to be free from oppression, and also, incidentally, the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, who were in a similar condition. The American people have thus secured for the inhabitants of these far-separated islands the op-



portunity to prepare themselves by good morals and a proper political education for self-government.

The Spanish troops, according to an agreement, were to evacuate Cuba and Porto Rico on or before the first of January, 1899.

General Elwell S. Otis, who, like Merritt, was a veteran of the Civil War, and after that a valiant Indian fighter, was now sent to succeed Merritt as Military Governor of the Philippine Islands. He sailed from San Francisco July 10, 1898. As directed by the Government, he stopped over for a day or two at the Hawaiian Islands, and there, in accordance with the action of Congress in annexing these islands to the United States, he hoisted the Stars and Stripes at Honolulu.

To return briefly to civil matters:—The United States Government had issued bonds to aid the construction of certain Pacific railways. These bonds were a loan, to be returned with the accrued interest thereon. The roads had failed to meet their obligations and unsuccessful efforts were made to adjust these claims. The Government had received from time to time a portion of this indebtedness, in the form of transportation on the roads. When Mr. McKinley's administration came in, the prospect for better business times began to brighten, and for that reason the Government was more able to dispose of its liens on the Union and Kansas Pacific railways. These roads were bought in by the "Reorganization Committee," and the final adjustment was arranged. "The total amount received by the national Government in the two sales was \$64,151,223—about \$20,000,000 in excess of the amount the Government offered to take in the latter part of the preceding [Cleveland] administration."

Gold, being the less variable in value of the precious metals, had been accepted, though convention-

ally, in commerce as the standard of value from time immemorial. But owing to the prominence of the "gold basis," which had induced many independent Democrats as well as the Republicans to vote for Mr. McKinley, and the general distrust of the country for the extreme "silver basis" of the Bryan Democrats, the new Republican Congress fulfilled their campaign promises by enacting a law that "makes the dollar consisting of twenty-five and eight-tenths grains of gold nine-tenths fine the standard unit of value." Also, the law "requires the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain at a parity of value with this standard all forms of money issued or coined by the United States."

In order to aid the people of Porto Rico in providing revenue to support temporarily their government, Congress passed a law imposing a tariff—only fifteen per cent of that of 1897—upon imports from Porto Rico into the United States after the evacuation of that island by the Spanish troops, October 18, 1898. The law also provided that these moneys thus received should be paid over to the people of Porto Rico, to be used "in public education, public works, and other governmental and public purposes therein, till otherwise provided by law."

The Fifty-sixth Congress enacted laws authorizing territorial governments in Hawaii and in Alaska, April 30 and June 6, 1900.

As the time drew near again to make nominations for the offices of the Presidency and the Vice-presidency, the sentiment of the Republican party turned spontaneously to the renomination of President McKinley. The Republican Convention met in Philadelphia, June 19, 1900. At first several names were mentioned in connection with the nomination for the Vice-presidency, but finally the general choice fell upon Theodore Roosevelt, then Governor of the State

of New York. President McKinley was unanimously nominated, and Governor Roosevelt lacked only one vote—his own—of being thus chosen. The Convention numbered 920 members and was remarkably harmonious in all its deliberations.

We give only a brief summary of the salient points of the Republican platform. It reiterated the party's well-known political and financial doctrine of protection, under which principle the varied industries of the country had always prospered, especially within recent years. The party renewed its allegiance to the gold standard of value, "in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged. . . . We condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices. We favor legislation to protect and promote competition and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce."

The platform cordially endorsed the policy and action of Mr. McKinley's administration in respect to the war with Spain, the treaty of peace with Spain, and its treatment of the inhabitants of Cuba and Porto Rico and those of the Philippine and Hawaiian islands. "We favor the construction, ownership, control, and protection of an Isthmian Canal by the Government of the United States."

The Democratic National Convention met in Kansas City, Missouri, July 4, 1900. It re-nominated for the Presidency Mr. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, and named for the Vice-presidency, Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois.

The following is a summary of the leading principles announced by the Convention: "We reaffirm our faith in that immortal proclamation [the Declaration of Independence] and our allegiance to the



Constitution framed in harmony therewith. . . . We assert that no Nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to depotism at home. . . . The burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions." Again: "We endorse the principles of the national Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, . . . and demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." "We favor the immediate construction, ownership, and control of the Nicaraguan Canal by the United States. . . . We condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly Nations. . . . We recommend that Congress create a Department of Labor, in charge of a Secretary with a seat in the Cabinet. . . . Believing that our most cherished institutions are in peril, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty-loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations."

This platform, unfortunately, overlooked the then unprecedented prosperity of all the industries of the land, including that of foreign commerce, which for the two previous years had had an enormous annual average balance of trade in our favor. A resolution endorsing Mr. Cleveland's administration was rejected by a majority of 207. The "Silver Democracy" had no use for a "Gold Democrat."

The "Social Democratic" party, the outcome of the union of that organization with the "Socialist Labor" party, held its Convention at Chicago on September 29, 1900. It nominated Eugene V. Debs of Illinois

for the Presidency and Job Harriman of California for the Vice-presidency. The distinctive object of the party is thus stated: "The party affirms its steadfast purpose to destroy wage-slavery, to abolish the institution of private property in the means of production, and to establish the co-operative commonwealth. . . . The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are interested in upholding the system of private ownership in the means of production. The Democratic, Republican, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike the tools of the capitalist class."

The Convention of the Prohibition party was held in Chicago June 27, 1900. It nominated for the Presidency Mr. John G. Woolley of Illinois, and for the Vice-presidency Mr. Henry B. Metcalf of Rhode Island. The platform was quite lengthy and on the usual lines characteristic of that organization.

Thus in the year 1900 an unusual number of parties under different names made nominations for the Presidency and the Vice-presidency. This fact seemed to indicate an underlying distrust, especially in respect to the financial and political principles of the two main parties of the Nation. In addition, the occasion afforded an opportunity for these dissatisfied citizens to publish to the country their various theories of government and of social problems.

The first administration of President McKinley was noted for two events of special interest—the war with Spain and the remarkable material progress of the entire Nation—both industrial and commercial. The first revealed to the world the self-contained power of the American people; and the innovation in the world of waging a war in order to relieve a peo-

ple from oppression, and then inaugurating a system to train the people thus relieved to a higher plane of civilization, self-reliance, and self-government.

The general and gradual progress of the whole Union in all its industries and business relations was uniform during that same administration, and when it ended the prospect for the future was still more encouraging. In all business circles confidence was inspired because there was no doubt but the financial measures of the general Government would remain unchanged. The interstate traffic of the Nation is estimated to be forty times the value of the foreign trade. The balance of foreign trade in our favor during the last three years of that administration averaged annually more than \$417,000,000—that is, the value of our exports exceeded just so much that of our imports. This difference was paid in gold or its equivalent. We had also become in these three years a creditor nation, as our capitalists had loaned to European governments immense sums of money. This national success may be traced to the judicious financial measures of the general Government, which had been supplemented by the industrial energy and general intelligence of all our people—the latter characteristic being largely the outgrowth of our public schools and the freedom of opportunity in this favored land.

It was not strange, then, that the election of November, 1900, resulted in the re-election of William McKinley to succeed himself as President of the United States, standing as the representative of an administration of the Government which had been able to show such notable triumphs both in war and in peace.



## CHAPTER LXXVIII.

1901

### McKINLEY'S SECOND TERM.

Inauguration of McKinley and Roosevelt.—The President's Tour to the Pacific Coast.—At the Pan-American Exposition. — His Farewell Address. — His Death. — Sketch of Theodore Roosevelt.—Continuation of the Philippine War. The War in China.—Independence for Cuba.—The Isthmian Canal.—The Alaska Boundary.—Great Coal Strike.—Our Island Possessions.—American Inventions.—President Roosevelt's First Message.—Naval and Military Power.—Gifts of Benevolence.

William McKinley, who had been reelected by larger majorities than he received in 1896, was inaugurated President a second time on March 4, 1901. At the same time Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office as Vice-President.

In his inaugural address President McKinley said: "When we assembled here on March 4, 1897, there was great anxiety with regard to our currency and credit. None exists now. Then our treasury receipts were inadequate to meet the current obligations of the government. Now there are sufficient for all public needs, and we have a surplus instead of a deficit. I have the satisfaction to announce that the Congress just closed has reduced taxation to the amount of forty-one million dollars. . . . We should not permit our great prosperity to lead us to reckless ventures in business, or profligacy in public expenditures."

His cabinet remained as it was during his first term, except that Attorney-General Griggs soon resigned and was succeeded by Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania.

Late in April the President set out on a tour to the Pacific coast, by way of New Orleans. In speaking at Memphis he said: "What a mighty, resistless power for good is a united nation of free men! It makes for peace and prestige, for progress and liberty. It conserves the rights of the people and strengthens the pillars of the government, and is a fulfillment of that more perfect union for which our Revolutionary fathers strove and for which the Constitution was made. No citizen of the Republic rejoices more than I do at this happy state, and none will do more within his sphere to continue and strengthen it. Our past has gone into history. No brighter one adorns the annals of mankind. Our task is for the future. We leave the old century behind us, holding on to its achievements and cherishing its memories, and turn with hope to the new, with its opportunities and obligations. These we must meet, men of the South, men of the North, with high purpose and resolution. Without internal troubles to distract us, or jealousies to disturb our judgment, we will solve the problems which confront us untrammelled by the past, and wisely and courageously pursue a policy of right and justice in all things, making the future, under God, even more glorious than the past."

An Exposition to illustrate the progress of civilization in the western hemisphere in the nineteenth century had been projected, to be held on the Niagara frontier in 1898, and in July, 1897, President McKinley drove the memorial stake on Cayuga Island, near the village of La Salle. But the war with Spain postponed the enterprise, and when it was revived the location was changed to the city of Buffalo, and there the Pan-American Exposition was held, May 1 to November 2, 1901. In its buildings and grounds it resembled the Columbian Exposition that was held in

Chicago in 1893, though it was on a smaller scale. The President visited the Exposition early in September, and on the 5th of that month made a speech that at once attracted attention all over the world, and has become historic as his farewell address. The following are its most significant passages:

"Expositions are the timekeepers of progress. They record the world's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise, and intellect of the people and quicken human genius. They go into the home. They broaden and brighten the daily life of the people. They open mighty storehouses of information to the student. Every exposition, great or small, has helped to some onward step. Comparison of ideas is always educational, and as such instructs the brain and hand of man. Friendly rivalry follows, which is the spur to industrial improvement, the inspiration to useful invention and to high endeavor in all departments of human activity. It exacts a study of the wants, comforts, and even whims of the people, and recognizes the efficacy of high quality and low prices to win their favor.

"The quest for trade is an incentive to men of business to devise, invent, improve, and economize in the cost of production. Business life, whether among ourselves or with other people, is ever a sharp struggle for success. It will be none the less so in the future. Without competition we should be clinging to the clumsy and antiquated processes of farming and manufacture and the methods of business of long ago, and the twentieth would be no farther advanced than the eighteenth century. But though commercial competitors we are, commercial enemies we must not be.

"The Pan-American Exposition has done its work thoroughly, presenting in its exhibits evidences of the highest skill and illustrating the progress of the



human family in the western hemisphere. This portion of the earth has no cause for humiliation for the part it has performed in the march of civilization. It has not accomplished everything; far from it. It has simply done its best, and without vanity or boastfulness, and, recognizing the manifold achievements of others, it invites the friendly rivalry of all the powers in the peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce, and will cooperate with all in advancing the highest and best interests of humanity. The wisdom and energy of all the nations are none too great for the world's work. The successes of art, science, industry, and invention are an international asset and a common glory.

“After all, how near one to the other is every part of the world! Modern inventions have brought into close relation widely separated peoples and made them better acquainted. Geographic and political divisions will continue to exist, but distances have been effaced. Swift ships and fast trains are becoming cosmopolitan. They invaded fields which a few years ago were impenetrable. The world's products are exchanged as never before, and with increasing transportation facilities come increasing knowledge and trade. Prices are fixed with mathematical precision by supply and demand. The world's selling prices are regulated by market and crop reports. We travel greater distances in a shorter space of time and with more ease than was ever dreamed of by the fathers. Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. The same important news is read, though in different languages, the same day in all Christendom. Market prices of products and of securities are hourly known in every commercial mart, and the investments of the people extend beyond their own national boundaries into the remotest parts of the earth. Vast transactions are conducted and

international exchanges are made by the tick of the cable. Every event of interest is immediately bulletined.

"It took a special messenger of the government with every facility known at the time for rapid transit, nineteen days to go from the city of Washington to New Orleans with a message to General Jackson that the war with England had ceased and a treaty of peace had been signed. How different now! We reached General Miles in Porto Rico by cable, and he was able through the military telegraph to stop his army on the firing line with the message that the United States and Spain had signed a protocol suspending hostilities. We knew almost instantly of the first shot fired at Santiago, and the subsequent surrender of the Spanish forces was known at Washington within less than an hour of its consummation. The first ship of Cervera's fleet had hardly emerged from that historic harbor when the fact was flashed to our capital, and the swift destruction that followed was announced immediately through the wonderful medium of telegraphy.

"At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not a mile of steam railroad on the globe. Now there are enough miles to make its circuit many times. Then there was not a line of electric telegraph; now we have a vast mileage traversing all lands and all seas. God and man have linked the nations together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other. And as we are brought more and more in touch with each other the less occasion is there for misunderstandings and the stronger the disposition, when we have differences, to adjust them in the court of arbitration, which is the noblest forum for the settlement of international disputes.

"My fellow-citizens, trade statistics indicate that this country is in a state of unexampled prosperity.

The figures are almost appalling. They show that we are utilizing our fields and forests and mines, and that we are furnishing profitable employment to the millions of workingmen throughout the United States, bringing comfort and happiness to their homes and making it possible to lay by savings for old age and disability. That all the people are participating in this great prosperity is seen in every American community and shown by the enormous and unprecedented deposits in our savings banks. Our duty is the care and security of these deposits, and their safe investment demands the highest integrity and the best business capacity of those in charge of these depositories of the people's earnings.

"We have a vast and intricate business built up through years of toil and struggle, in which every part of the country has its stake, which will not permit either of neglect or of undue selfishness. No narrow, sordid policy will subserve it. The greatest skill and wisdom on the part of the manufacturers and producers will be required to hold and increase it. Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. In these times of marvelous business energy and gain, we ought to be looking to the future, strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems that we may be ready for any storm or strain. By the sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production, we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued healthful growth of our export trade. We must



not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can, and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor. The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not.

"If, perchance, some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue, or to encourage and protect our industries, why should they [reciprocity treaties] not be employed to extend our markets abroad? Then, too, we have inadequate steamship service. New lines of steamers have already been put in commission between the Pacific coast ports of the United States and those on the western coasts of Mexico and Central and South America. These should be followed up with direct steamship lines between the eastern coast of the United States and South American ports. We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense, they will be messengers of

peace and amity wherever they go. We must build the Isthmian Canal, which will unite the two oceans and give a straight line of water communication with the western coasts of Central and South America and Mexico. The construction of a Pacific cable cannot be longer postponed.

"In the furtherance of these objects of national interests and concern you are performing an important part. This Exposition would have touched the heart of that American statesman whose mind was ever alert and though ever constant for a larger commerce and a truer fraternity of the republics of the New World. His broad American spirit is felt and manifested here. He needs no identification to an assembly of Americans anywhere, for the name of Blaine is inseparably associated with the Pan-American movement which finds this practical and substantial expression, and which we all hope will be firmly advanced by the Pan-American congress that assembles this autumn in the capital of Mexico. Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness, and peace to all our neighbors, and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of the earth."

This noble speech aroused the enthusiasm and commanded the admiration of every one that heard it. The President was frequently interrupted with hearty applause, and when he had finished, many came forward with an eager desire to take his hand.

The next day (Friday, September 6) the President held a reception in the Music Hall of the Exposition. Among the crowd that passed in line to take his hand was an anarchist whose right hand was bandaged as if it had been injured. The President turned his own hand to accommodate it to the fellow's left, when the cowardly assassin fired two shots from a revolver that was concealed in the bandage. The

President was taken without delay to the emergency hospital of the Exposition, and skillful surgeons were in attendance. The principal wound was through the stomach, and he was almost immediately anaesthetized and subjected to a severe operation. In the three following days he appeared to be doing remarkably well; then trouble appeared, and on the eighth day (Saturday, September 14) he passed away. While the whole nation had been watching his bedside and eagerly scanning the daily bulletins, the President himself was undisturbed. When those about him seized the assassin and appeared likely to lynch him, Mr. McKinley exclaimed "Let no one hurt him." When he was carried to the hospital, he said to the physicians, "Gentlemen, I trust you to do whatever you judge to be best." In his last hours he lay softly singing his favorite hymns—"Lead, kindly Light" and "Nearer, my God, to Thee." And when the end came he said quietly, "It is God's way—His will be done. Good-by all, good-by!" He had expressed anxiety for the effect of the news to his wife, and lest the affair should harm the Exposition; but it appeared never to occur to him to assume that his death would be a loss to the nation, or that the work of the government could not be carried on as well by others as by himself. He had fought like a hero, he had wrought like a statesman, he had lived like a Christian, and he died like a philosopher.

The body of the President was taken to Washington, where it lay in state one day, after which it was conveyed to his home in Canton, Ohio, and laid beside his parents and his children in the cemetery there.

The assassin declared that he had had no accomplices; that he alone had planned the murder. But the word of such a criminal counts for nothing, and there are strong reasons for believing that this as-



sassination, like some others, was deliberately determined upon by a gang of anarchists, and the one to execute it was chosen by lot. Whether the lot itself is fairly cast, may be doubted, since it appears never to fall upon any leader among the anarchists, or indeed upon one that ever was heard of before.

William McKinley, when Governor of Ohio, was one of the few governors that have prevented a threatened lynching; and disposal of his assassin was exactly what he would have approved. It would have been easy to leave him to the vengeance of the infuriated citizens. But he was carefully guarded, counsel was assigned to him, he had a speedy trial with all the forms of law, and in October he went to the electric chair in Auburn prison. His conduct when he realized the fate that awaited him was craven in the extreme—a complete collapse of every semblance of manliness.

When it was seen that President McKinley was not likely to survive many days, Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt was summoned from the heart of the Adirondack woods, where he had gone for recreation. He went in all haste to Buffalo, and reached that city before the end came. The same day that the President died (Saturday, September 14) Mr. Roosevelt, at the request of the Secretary of War, took the oath of office as President. All the cabinet, except the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Navy were present, and the oath was administered by Justice Hazel of the United States District Court. The new President made this declaration: "It shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley, which has given peace, prosperity, and honor to our beloved country. . . . In order to help me keep the promise I have made, I would ask all the cabinet to retain their positions at least for some months to come. I shall rely upon

you, gentlemen, upon your loyalty and fidelity, to help me." The cabinet remained unchanged till December 27, when Charles Emory Smith, Postmaster-General, resigned, and Henry C. Payne, of Wisconsin, was appointed to succeed him.

The same day that he became President, Mr. Roosevelt issued a proclamation in which he said: "A terrible bereavement has befallen our people. The President of the United States has been struck down—a crime committed not only against the chief magistrate but against every law-abiding and liberty-loving citizen. President McKinley crowned a life of largest love for his fellow-men, of most earnest endeavor for their welfare, by a death of Christian fortitude; and both the way in which he lived his life and the way in which, in the supreme hour of trial, he met his death, will remain forever a precious heritage to our people. It is meet that we, as a nation, express our abiding love and reverence for his life, our deep sorrow for his untimely death." He then appointed Thursday, September 19 (the day of the burial) as a day of mourning and prayer throughout the United States.

Theodore Roosevelt is a native of the city of New York, where he was born October 27, 1858. He is the youngest man that ever assumed the presidency of the United States, being only in his forty-third year at the time of his inauguration. President Grant, who ranked next in that respect, was forty-seven. Mr. Roosevelt is descended from a Dutch family, who were among the earliest settlers on Manhattan Island. He was not born with a vigorous constitution, and therefore addressed himself to the task, in boyhood, of building up one for himself by a course of athletic training. He appears to have succeeded admirably. He was graduated at Harvard University in 1880, with high enough standing in his

class to make him a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and immediately thereafter he traveled in Europe. On his return he studied law in the office of his uncle, the Hon. Robert B. Roosevelt. His favorite reading and study, aside from his profession, was political history and natural history. He was elected to the lower house of the New York Legislature in 1882, 1883, and 1884, and became very active in that body. The earliest measures with which he was identified were those abolishing the fees as a perquisite of the office of registrar and county clerk, abolishing the power of the New York aldermen to reject the mayor's appointments, and enacting the civil service reform law of 1884 and the anti-tenement-cigar-factory law. He was a delegate to the national Republican convention in 1884, where he supported the claim of Mr. Edmunds to the presidential nomination. The same year he became a lieutenant in the Eighth Regiment of New York militia, in which he served four years. About this time he bought a ranch on the Little Missouri River, and from his frequent sojourns there and his hunting-trips in the Rocky Mountains he became familiar with the life of the West. In the autumn of 1886 he was the Republican candidate for mayor of New York, and he might have been elected had not a large number of Republicans taken fright at the possibility of Henry George's election and voted for the Democratic candidate, Abram S. Hewitt, supposing that to be the only way to defeat George. As it was, Mr. Roosevelt received a larger vote than any Republican candidate for the office had received before. In 1889 President Harrison appointed him a member of the United States Civil Service Commission. He is said to have added twenty thousand places to those covered by the law, and President Harrison said of his work: "If he had no other record than his service as a member of the



Civil Service Commission, he would be deserving of the nation's gratitude and confidence." In the spring of 1895 he resigned that office, was appointed a police commissioner in New York, and became president of the board. His action in that capacity was most vigorous and persistent. He set himself to put a stop to blackmail and correct other abuses, and he made unexpected night visits in various parts of the city to see for himself whether his orders were obeyed. In April, 1897, he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and he retained that office till May 6, 1898, when he resigned it in order to take an active part in the war with Spain. With Leonard Wood as Colonel and himself as Lieutenant-Colonel, a regiment of cavalry was organized, consisting largely of cowboys from the West. This organization became popularly known as the Rough Riders, and it had a conspicuous part in the battle of San Juan Hill. When the war was over Mr. Roosevelt was made the Republican candidate for governor of New York, and he was elected by a plurality of 17,786. Two years later he was the candidate for Vice-President on the ticket with Mr. McKinley. In 1881 Mr. Roosevelt married Miss Alice Lee, of Boston, and several years after her death he married Miss Edith Kermit Carow. He has published a considerable number of books, of which the following is a list: "The Naval War of 1812" (1882); "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman" (1885); a life of Thomas Hart Benton (1887); a life of Gouverneur Morris (1888); "Essays on Practical Politics" (1888); "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail" (1888); "The Winning of the West" (4 vols., 1889-'96); "A Brief History of New York City" (1891); "The Wilderness Hunter" (1893); "American Ideals, and other Essays" (1897); "The Rough Riders" (1899); a life of Oliver Cromwell

(1900); and "The Strenuous Life, and other Essays" (1901).

The war in the Philippines was by no means ended when the new President assumed office. Two causes had operated powerfully to strengthen the rebellion and enable leaders like Aguinaldo to hold their followers together in the face of repeated defeats by a numerous and determined enemy. The first of these was the action of the American commander who, on the capture of Manila, would not permit the Filipino forces to enter the city, which they were anxious to do in order to loot it and massacre their former rulers and enemies, the Spaniards. The other cause, which was much more powerful and appealed to a better motive, arose from the fact that in the treaty of peace with Spain the United States guaranteed the property of the monastic orders. This was one of the most perplexing questions with which the commissioners and the government had to deal. The Spanish friars in those islands had gradually, through the long years of Spanish possession, become the holders of a large part of the best lands. Not only were they landlords and employers, keeping large numbers of the natives in a state of poverty and dependence, but they had been allowed to exercise civil authority in their parishes and districts. They were rigid in the collection of church dues, and had worked together with the civilian officials in despoiling the people. This was the main cause of the rebellion against Spanish rule; the insurgents demanded the expulsion of the friars, and wherever they became masters of the situation they drove them out. It is hardly to be wondered at that when the Filipinos learned the terms of the Treaty of Paris, by which the property of the monastic orders was guaranteed to them, they should apprehend a revival and continuance of the very evils that had

caused them to struggle so hard to throw off the Spanish yoke. A papal legate was sent to the islands to examine into the condition of the religious institutions, and he reported that there was necessity for reform.

After the better-educated and influential natives had accepted the situation and acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States, the military authorities were able to enlist many natives in their service. Yet there appeared to be always a liability of treachery. The Macabebe scouts were the most valuable of these native auxiliaries. The local officials and leaders in the remote districts kept up their opposition to the Americans, all acknowledging the authority of Aguinaldo as President of the supposititious republic. He was captured March 23, 1901, and carried to Manila, where he took the oath of allegiance to the United States. He then offered, on certain terms, to secure the surrender of all the insurgent leaders. But the government declined to bargain with him; and it was especially justified in doing so in view of the fact that at least once in his career he had sold out to the Spaniards. A major of his staff, who had escaped with a part of the body-guard, was captured with his party in September—thirty-one officers and men. Between June and September of that year the number of armed Filipinos that were captured or voluntarily surrendered, with their arms, was 387 officers and 4,132 men.

On June 5, 1901, William H. Taft, of Ohio, was appointed civil Governor of the Philippine Islands, and with the establishment of civil government there the administration adopted the policy of appointing natives to office when competent ones could be found. At the same time six hundred teachers were sent from the United States to establish schools in the country districts that were under civil rule.



But the work of pacification was by no means complete. In September a dangerous conspiracy was discovered in the southern provinces of the island of Luzon, and some of the native police, who had been appointed, armed, and trusted by the Americans, had joined in it. The purpose of the conspirators was to make a sudden rising and kill all the whites. Some of the native civil officials were put on trial for aiding the conspirators with information and in other ways. One insurgent officer was hanged for murdering more than a hundred Spanish prisoners. But while the institution of civil government gave opportunity for treachery of petty native officials, on the other hand it did a great deal of good by giving practical assurance to the peaceable and industrious that no harm, but only benefit, was intended in the new regime. Autonomous administration of law and affairs was introduced gradually—necessarily superintended largely by American officers—and when the natives saw school-houses built, roads improved, public buildings put in repair, and taxes fairly assessed and honestly collected and accounted for—in all of which they themselves had part—they realized what great good fortune the change of sovereignty had brought them. All fines that were collected for misdemeanors were expended on schools and public works. The American troops in the Philippines at this time numbered a little more than 43,000.

The Philippine archipelago is stretched across about fourteen degrees of latitude ( $5^{\circ}$  to  $19^{\circ}$  N.), equal to the distance from the northern line of Vermont to the southern line of Georgia. It consists of a dozen islands of considerable size and scores of little ones. Luzon is the largest, and Mindanao the next; after which come Samar, Mindoro, Palawan, Panay, and Negros, not varying much in size, each being about as large as the State of Connecticut.

The natives of these islands are not all of the same race or of the same religion, and they speak various dialects. While the principal military operations had been necessarily in Luzon, the Americans also had a separate task before them in nearly every one of the other large islands. It required four thousand troops, and operations extending through two years, to produce order and establish civil government in Panay, but this has now been accomplished. In Leyte sixteen hundred troops did it in about fifteen months. In these two islands General Robert P. Hughes commanded, and his men fought four hundred engagements—most of the operations being guerilla warfare—and constructed many good roads. He now had the island of Samar added to his command, and this presented a more difficult problem. The inhabitants of that island are Malays, extremely fickle and treacherous. The Spaniards never had occupied it completely. Many of the guerilla bands that had been defeated and broken up in the other islands went to Samar and joined the insurgents there, and with them went outlaws and desperate characters of all kinds. The island was very difficult for offensive military operations, as it has heavily wooded mountains, deep valleys, swamps and jungles, and at that time there were no roads. A general named Lukban managed to bring about some sort of unity and organization among the insurgents, commanded them, and conducted the campaign.

General Hughes at once entered upon the campaign. He drove the rebels from the hills overlooking the towns, and garrisoned twenty places, while gunboats ascended the streams as far as their depth would permit. Before the rainy season began, in August, he had compelled one body of five hundred insurgents to surrender and had destroyed or scattered smaller ones. It appeared as if the island had

been pacified, when a peculiar piece of treachery opened the eyes of the Americans. Seventy-five men of the Ninth Infantry, commanded by Captain T. W. Connell, had garrisoned the town of Balangiga, where they were received with every demonstration of friendliness. While they were at breakfast on September 28, the native ruler of the town and some of his people visited them, and after managing to get between the soldiers and their stacked arms fell suddenly upon them, and with their bolos and rifles killed the captain and two other officers and forty-eight men. The twenty-four survivors escaped in a boat. The bodies of the slain soldiers were mutilated and burned. Some of the attacking party had rifles that the Americans had given them to enable them to protect themselves against the insurgents. A force of regulars and Macabebes was sent to Balangiga, but the entire population of the town had fled to the mountains.

General Hughes, with about 3,600 troops, now began a more vigorous campaign. With the gunboats on the rivers and flying columns on land, he pursued the insurgent bands relentlessly. Sometimes ambush was formed, and there were serious conflicts. In one instance a detachment of forty-six Americans was attacked on the Guadara River, and ten were killed and six wounded. Then came a reenforcement and killed more than a hundred of the rebels and put the remainder to flight. At San Antonio more than a hundred bolo-men attacked a dozen American soldiers, killing two and wounding two; but the other eight stood their ground and succeeded in killing fourteen of the enemy.

With twenty-seven vessels Rear-Admiral Frederick Rogers patrolled the coast, preventing the insurgents from either leaving the island or receiving supplies. General Hughes ordered the peaceable inhabitants to



go to the towns while he hunted down the outlaws, and threatened them with deportation if they concealed arms or harbored the murderous gang of Balangiga. For offenses of this kind several villages were destroyed. On a captured insurgent officer were found papers that implicated men who were holding responsible offices, under the American government, in the island of Leyte. Thereupon they were arrested, the ports of Leyte were closed, and a new insurrection in that island was prevented.

These vigorous measures had a good effect on the rebels in the island of Cebu, who became disheartened and surrendered. This disposed virtually of all the dangerous opposition to American rule in the islands; but General Chaffee expressed the opinion that, because of the wild nature of much of the country and the danger to the peaceable inhabitants from bands of robbers and guerillas, there should be no reduction of the forces in the islands before 1903. The whole number of United States troops that had been sent to the archipelago, first and last, was about 112,000, officers and men. The death from all causes were about 3,500.

On July 4, 1902, the President of the United States declared officially, in a proclamation, that the war in the Philippine Islands was ended.

The struggle in the Philippines was not over when a new and singular trouble appeared in China. There has always been a jealousy of foreigners in China, and in recent years this, with large numbers of the people, has grown into an intense hatred. One cause is the introduction of modern improvements and machinery, which they look upon as evil because calculated to throw men out of employment. Another is the jealousy of the priests, who oppose the toleration of any new religion as diminishing their own power. And perhaps the greatest of all is a fear that the

European nations may attempt to take possession of the empire and divide it among themselves, as they have done with Africa. This opposition to foreigners finds organized expression in a secret society popularly known as Boxers because they practice gymnastics. The official name of the organization is I-ho-Chuan, which means League of United Patriots. Another name is Brethren of the Long Sword. The society is more than a hundred years old, and in 1803 it was prohibited by an imperial proclamation, but it has grown steadily nevertheless, and is virtually a political party. It has a sort of religious creed, which is a mixture of Buddhism and Confucianism, and its members have superstitions of their own. In 1899 they murdered two German missionaries, whereupon the German government required the execution of three of the murderers and got possession of a Chinese seaport. This created great excitement among them, large numbers of young men joined the organization in the spring of 1900, and an extensive work of slaughter was begun. Missionaries and their converts were the victims, and it was estimated that thirty thousand were slain. The empress, who had deposed the young emperor, and reigned in his stead, at first made a show of punishing the Boxers, but it soon became evident that this was a mere pretense. The Boxers printed and posted exciting proclamations. One of these said: "For forty years the foreigners have been turning the empire upside down. They have taken our seaports, and got possession of our revenues, and they do despite to our gods and sages. Uphold the Great Pure Dynasty, and destroy the ocean barbarians!" Another declared that the introduction of the Catholic and Protestant religions was the cause of the great drouth.

The Boxers originated on the Shan Tung peninsula, southeast of Pekin, and most of their recruits were

from that province. As their numbers increased and their organization became more perfect, they advanced toward Peking.

The foreign ministers in the capital supposed the uprising was quite as much against the imperial government as against the foreigners, and were slow to take alarm. But when the railroad to Paoting Fu was torn up, they sent to their ships in the harbor for a guard of marines to protect the legations, and four hundred and fifty marines came. The very next day more of the railroad was destroyed, communication with the coast was cut off, and the legations were besieged. For ten days the besiegers were Boxers; after that the imperial troops joined them, and before long these were more conspicuous in the attack than the Boxers. The eleven foreign legations were all on one street; and as the British legation was best suited for defense; the British minister invited all to take shelter there. The whole number—ministers, attaches, families, servants, missionaries, and teachers—was about one thousand. There were also about two thousand native Christians to be protected.

The besieged people strengthened their position with ramparts of sand-bags, hoarded their stocks of provisions carefully, and, when the Chinese began to use artillery, constructed bomb-proofs for the women and children. About a hundred men volunteered as soldiers to act with the marines, who were constantly on guard and sometimes made sorties against the enemy. The wife of a Swiss baker, named Chamot, joined the volunteers with her husband, and used her rifle skillfully. It was understood that if the besiegers should overpower the defenders, all the women in the legation were to be killed at once by the men nearest related to them, to prevent a worse fate. The siege lasted sixty-six days, and the



defenders, some of whom were killed, conducted themselves most heroically.

As soon as it was known to the great powers that their legations in Peking were thus besieged and in danger of massacre, measures were taken for their relief. Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, Japan, Italy, and the United States supplied the forces for the purpose, the American troops being drawn from the Philippines. In the harbor at the mouth of the Peiho were twenty-five warships of foreign nations, and on shore were 900 soldiers. As soon as the imperial government began to act with the Boxers against the legations and all foreigners, it sent a reenforcement of 3,000 soldiers to the forts at the mouth of the river, who began to place torpedos in the channel. The commanders of the fleets agreed to act together, and notified the Viceroy that unless the forts were evacuated they would bombard them June 18. That day the battle was begun. The ships poured in their fire, and 1,200 men were landed for storming. The Chinese returned the fire until their main magazine was blown up; and then the storming-party burst in and captured the forts. One third of the Chinese garrison were killed or wounded, and the allies had lost, in killed and wounded, about a hundred men.

Meanwhile the Boxers had laid siege to the European settlements at Tien Tsin, which was twenty miles up the river. The Europeans there had about 3,000 men capable of bearing arms, who had a few machine guns but no heavy artillery. They were bombarded by the Boxers, many of their buildings were burned, and there were numerous casualties. The Russians lost about 160 men and the British about 200. A force of 400 Russians and 150 Americans that tried to reach the city was driven back. Then a force was organized of 1,500 Russians, 380

British, 1,000 Germans, 100 Japanese, and 100 Italians, who carried with them an armored train and artillery, and in three days they raised the siege (June 23). The railroad was repaired, and the allies sent forward more men. But 10,000 Chinese regulars came down and occupied the forts and arsenals, and from them bombarded the French and English quarters of the town. The allies then planned a grand flanking movement to take the Chinese line in reverse. The American contingent was 100 marines, under Major Waller. The Japanese led the line, and the movement was successful (July 9). The Chinese were routed and those that could ran away, leaving their guns and flags. Five hundred of the Boxers were captured, and the Japanese killed nearly all of them.

Three days later, 1,200 Americans arrived from the Philippines, and the allied force was then about 10,000. The day before their arrival, there was a battle in which the Japanese lost 80 men, the French 60, and the British 18. The next day the Russians and French captured the batteries on the canal, and cleared the Chinese camps, but lost about 150 men in the operation. Then the other troops attacked the city. The preliminary bombardment exploded the Chinese magazine, and then the troops advanced to the gates. The hardest fighting was at the south gate, which was attacked by the Japanese, assisted by a French detachment and the Ninth United States Infantry. Slowly they pushed forward, with heavy losses, till at dusk they reached the moat, where they found that the bridge had been destroyed. In the night they made a new bridge, and in the morning they blew open the gate and scaled the walls, only to find that the Chinese had retreated toward Peking. In this operation the allies lost 775 men. Of this loss, 18 killed and 67 wounded fell upon the Amer-

icans, and among their killed was Colonel Emerson H. Liscum, who commanded the regiment.

The Chinese capital is sixty-five miles farther up the river, and before advancing against that the commanders of the allied troops waited for reenforcements. These were promptly forthcoming. The American contingent now (August 1) consisted of 80 officers and 2,300 enlisted men, commanded by Major-General Adna R. Chaffee, a man of great energy and ability, whose military experience began with his service as a private in the Sixth Cavalry in the Civil War, from which he had risen steadily, through merited promotions, till he reached his present rank.

The march on Pekin was begun August 4. The next day there was a fight at Peitsang, in which the Chinese were defeated. And on the 6th there was another battle at Yangtun, which lasted six hours. The day was fearfully hot, and many men prostrated by the heat. The Chinese retreated through fields of broom-corn and got away. In this action the Americans lost seven men killed and sixty-nine wounded, and two died from the heat. Some of these casualties were caused by the British artillery fire from the rear.

The sick and the wounded were sent down the river in boats, and the march was resumed—seven to twelve miles a day. A troop of the Sixth Cavalry overtook the column and joined the American contingent.

Again at Changkiawan there was a fight, in which the Chinese lost 500 men before they retreated. At Hasiwu they were constructing a trench to flood the roads and fields behind them, when the allies came up just in time to prevent its use.

At dawn, August 14, the Americans were within five miles of Pekin. The whole force of the allies



was now about 39,000 men, with 120 guns; and it was agreed that the city should be assailed at daybreak on the 15th. The Russian commander, acting independently, attacked one of the gates in the night of the 14th. He blew it open, and his troops entered; but they at once found themselves subjected to a destructive fire from the walls, and retreated with a loss of 126 men. The next morning, in accordance with the plan agreed upon, the Japanese assailed one of the other gates, and the Americans came up to the assistance of the Russians at the gate they had taken and lost the night before. General Chaffee ordered his men into action at once, and Colonel Aaron S. Daggett led a scaling party through a sunken road and across a moat that was swept by fire. Two companies of infantry climbed the wall and displayed the American flag on it, while the Russians forced the gate. Then more American troops entered by the gate, and the American artillery shelled the Chinese soldiers on the walls. The British entered by the southern gate without much difficulty. The Japanese, at the Chihan gate, met with a determined resistance. Here the Chinese had the advantage of a large loopholed tower over the gate and battlemented walls on each side. The Japanese planted half a hundred guns, in a semi-circle, on a hill about a mile distant, and concentrated their fire on the gate. This drove off the Chinese temporarily, but as often as the Japanese infantry advanced, the Chinese returned to the tower and beat them back with a hot fire. The Japanese had lost 200 men in these attempts when the Americans and the British inside the city made a diversion that enabled them to reach the gate, blow it open, and clear the tower and the wall.

Pekin is a triple city—the Chinese City, the Tartar City, and (in the center of the latter) the Imperial City. The legations were in the Tartar City, and

were continuously fired upon from the walls of the Imperial City. General Chaffee therefore put guns on one of the gates and opened fire on the Imperial City. The American infantry advanced against it, and found five heavy walls between them and the imperial palace, with archways closed by massive gates. All these were blown open with artillery, and advanced in the face of a rifle fire till they reached the palace. General Chaffee then halted them, and soon withdrew them to a camp outside the Tartar City, where also the other allies encamped. It is said that an immense amount of looting was done by the British, the Russians, and the French, and a little (in defiance of orders) by the Americans. Only the Japanese refrained from it entirely.

The Catholics were still besieged in their cathedral, and the French and Russians went to their relief. Then all the troops of the allies made a movement and cleared the city of Boxers and Chinese regular soldiers. Strategic points in the suburbs were occupied also, and thus complete order was restored.

An administration was organized for the captured capital and province, in which England, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, and the United States were represented; and it only remained to settle the terms of peace. When these were discussed it appeared that the Americans and Japanese were most inclined to be lenient toward China, and the Germans most severe. An agreement was not reached until the middle of August, 1901, and the protocol was signed September 7. The disposition on the part of some of the powers to acquire Chinese territory was held in check by the United States government. The terms of peace included these stipulations:

Some of the high officials who had encouraged the insurgents were to be exiled or imprisoned; others to be executed or required to commit suicide.

In districts where foreigners had been murdered, examinations for office and honors were to be suspended for five years.

The Chinese government was to prescribe the death penalty for membership in any anti-foreign society.

The area of the foreign legations in Peking was to be greatly enlarged and made capable of defense, and each one to have a guard of its own nationality.

Importation of arms, or material for their manufacture, was to be forbidden for two years.

All the forts between Peking and the sea were to be destroyed.

China was to pay an indemnity of about \$337,000,000, in four-per-cent. gold bonds, to mature in thirty-nine years. And this was to be divided among the allies in proportion to the part they had taken in suppressing the rebellion. The United States received one eighth of it.

When the treaty was signed all the foreign troops, except the legation guards, were withdrawn from Chinese soil.

At the beginning of the war with Spain the United States government had distinctly disclaimed any intention of annexing Cuba, declaring that the people of that island ought to be free and independent. This pledge was faithfully kept. On July 25, 1900, President McKinley directed that a call be issued in Cuba for the election of delegates to a convention to frame a constitution for an independent and permanent government. This was done, and by order of the Military Governor, General Leonard Wood, the election was held on September 15, and the convention assembled in Havana on November 5. The governor told the delegates that it was their duty to frame such a constitution as would secure stable, orderly, and free government, and to formulate the



relations which, in their opinion, ought to exist between the United States and Cuba; and that the United States government would then take such action as would lead to a final and authoritative agreement between the people of the two countries and promote their common interests.

The convention completed and signed the constitution on February 21, 1901. A committee was then appointed to draw up a project or treaty concerning relations with the United States. The governor gave them suggestions as to what would be acceptable to the American government, but these were not heeded. The committee presented a project, which was adopted by the convention (February 27), in which the United States was simply placed on the same footing with all other foreign powers. No naval stations were to be granted to any foreign power, and Cuba was not to serve as a basis for military operations against any power. The President had asked for such stipulations against all other powers, but not against the United States, had demanded naval stations for the United States, and had claimed the Isle of Pines as American territory.

The unexpected action of the convention in the matter of relations with the United States was met by an amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill, offered by Senator Platt, of Connecticut, and adopted by the Senate. This amendment authorized the President to leave the control of Cuba to its own people as soon as a stable government should be established there, which, in defining the relations between the two countries, should make these provisions:

Cuba to make no foreign treaty affecting its independence, and to allow no foreign power to colonize there or acquire military control.

Cuba to contract no debt that cannot be met, principal and interest, out of the net revenues.

The United States may intervene to preserve independence or safety of life and property, or to secure the discharge of obligations assumed by the United States in the Treaty of Paris.

All acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupation to be ratified and made valid, and all lawful rights acquired thereunder to be maintained and protected.

Cuba to maintain and extend effective systems of sanitation.

The title to the Isle of Pines to be left to future adjustment by treaty.

Coaling or naval stations to be sold or leased to the United States, at points to be agreed upon.

All these provisions to be embodied in a treaty.

Though large numbers of the business men in Cuba desired that the United States should retain even more power in the island, and not a few would have been glad of immediate annexation, the convention was loath to make the concessions demanded, and a committee was sent to Washington to argue the question, in the hope of getting some abatement. But the administration was firm in its demand, and the committee were convinced that the stipulations were in reality a safeguard for the stability of the Cuban republic. The convention adopted all the provisions of the Platt amendment (June 12), but only after long discussion and by a majority of only five votes. The constitution is based on that of the United States. On January 1, 1902, Tomaso Estrada Palma was elected President of Cuba; and the transfer of the government from the United States to his administration was made on May 1.

No one can look at a map of the western hemisphere without feeling regret that a narrow isthmus

should separate the world's two great oceans at the point where it is most desirable for them to come together and permit the commerce of each to flow freely through to the other. The first suggestion of a ship canal through the Isthmus of Darien was made in 1600, by Samuel de Champlain, the famous French explorer, whose name is perpetuated in one of our lakes. From the appearance of a flat map, the construction of such a canal seems an easy task. But it is very different from that which the French engineers accomplished thirty years ago on the sandy isthmus of Suez. Here a mountain ridge stands in the way, making a tide-level canal practically impossible, while the peculiarity of the climate, with its heavy storms and sudden rushing floods, creates difficulties from which the best constructed lock canal never can be wholly free. When the railroad was built across the isthmus, soon after the discovery of gold in California, the loss of life among the workmen was so great, from the insalubrity of the region, that it was said each crosstie of the road might be considered a dead man. In the nineteenth century numerous surveys were made of all the narrower portions of Central America, from Tehuantepec to the Gulf of Darien, and the practicable routes for a canal were found to be but two—one at nearly the narrowest part, where the railroad was built, from Colon to Panama, and the other near the boundary between Nicaragua and Costa Rica, passing through Lake Nicaragua. Concessions have been obtained for both these routes, and on the Panama route considerable work was done, and a great deal of money expended, by a French company that became bankrupt. When the war with Spain began, in 1898, the importance of such a canal was keenly realized. One of our finest battleships, the Oregon, was at San Francisco, and was wanted in the West Indies. Her commander,



Captain Charles E. Clark, took her down the western coast, through the Straits of Magellan, and northward in the Atlantic to Key West, a run of fourteen thousand miles, at tremendous speed, and was ready for battle on his arrival.

Up to that time any proposal that the isthmian canal should be constructed by the United States government had met with strong opposition, on the theory that it was a mere mercantile enterprise and should be left to private capital and energy: This opposition was now hushed, and the government took up the subject. Secretary Hay and Lord Pauncefote, the British ambassador at Washington, signed a treaty, February 5, 1900, for the construction of an interoceanic canal, to take the place of the articles devoted to that subject in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850. In that earlier treaty it was stipulated that neither the United States nor Great Britain should obtain or hold for itself any exclusive control over a ship canal. By the new treaty Great Britain conceded to the United States the right to build and maintain the canal, and the United States undertook to preserve its neutrality and keep it open to the ships of all nations, whether in war or in peace. The Senate debated this treaty at great length, and finally passed it with important amendments. These declared that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was superseded, and that none of the stipulations of the new treaty should prevent the United States from taking any measures it might find necessary to secure, by its own forces, the defense of the United States and the maintenance of public order; and an article that provided for inviting other powers to join in the treaty was struck out. The British government declined to accept the treaty as amended.

Negotiations were then resumed, and on November 18, 1901, a new treaty was signed at Washington,

which received the sanction of the Senate, by a vote of 72 to 6, on December 16. This was ratified by the British government, and was proclaimed February 22, 1902. The provisions of the new treaty are these:

It supersedes the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850.

It provides that the isthmian canal may be constructed under the auspices of the United States government, either directly at its own cost or by loans to individuals or corporations; and that the United States government shall have the exclusive right of regulating and managing the canal.

The United States adopts, as the basis of the neutralization of the canal, rules substantially the same as those embodied in the convention of Constantinople (1888) for the free navigation of the Suez Canal. These rules are: 1. The canal shall be open to vessels of commerce and of war, of all nations, on equal terms; and the conditions and charges shall be just and equitable. 2. The canal never shall be blockaded, nor shall any right of war be exercised or any act of hostility committed within it; and the United States shall be a liberty to police it. 3. War vessels of a belligerent shall not receive supplies of any kind in the canal (except when it is absolutely necessary), and their transit shall be erected with the least possible delay. Prizes shall be subject to the same terms as war vessels. 4. No belligerent shall embark or debark troops or munitions of war in the canal, except in case of accidental hindrance. 5. The same rules shall apply to the waters adjacent to the canal, within three marine miles of either end. The rules of neutral harbors also apply here. 6. Everything pertaining to the canal, for construction, maintenance or operation, shall be considered a part of it and subject to immunity in time of war.

The treaty provides that no change of territorial

sovereignty, or international relations of the country traversed by the canal, shall affect its neutralization or the obligations of the constructing parties.

A commission that had been appointed to examine the route proposed for a canal reported to Congress, December 4, 1901, that to build the canal by the Nicaragua route would cost \$189,864,000; and that the directors of the Panama Canal Company demanded \$109,141,000 for their franchise, machinery, and work already accomplished, and it would cost \$144,233,358 to complete the canal by that route. Hence the commission recommended the adoption of the Nicaragua route, as costing less by about \$60,000,000. Afterward the Panama Company lowered its price to \$40,000,000, and the commission then recommended that route. The choice of routes has not yet (January, 1903) been made, though the Panama route seems certain to be accepted unless the Colombian government raises insuperable difficulties. It is estimated that it will take ten years to complete the Panama Canal, or eight years to build a canal by the Nicaragua route. The length of the Panama route is forty-nine miles; that of the Nicaragua route a hundred and eighty-three miles.

Since the discovery of gold in the Klondike, a dispute has arisen concerning the boundary between Alaska and the British dominions. The American contention is that the line follows the sinuosities of the coast, being everywhere parallel with them and ten marine leagues inland; while the British (or rather Canadian) contention is that the boundary is parallel (ten marine leagues inland) with a line that leaps from headland to headland. If this were admitted, it would give Canada control of all the water, approaches to the Klondike gold-fields by the Dalton trail, the White pass, and the Chilkoot pass, and also of the Lynn canal and of Skagway and Dyea. The



Canadian government, desirous of getting a deep-water harbor, offered to give up its claim to Skagway and Dyea if the United States would give it Pyramid harbor, which is the more westerly of the two upper reaches of the Lynn canal. This offer was declined, as was also the proposal of the Canadian government to submit the matter to arbitration. The United States government would not thus admit that there was any doubt as to the correctness of its interpretation of the treaty by which Russia ceded Alaska to the United States, March 30, 1867. A treaty between the United States and Great Britain had been signed on January 30, 1897, providing for the demarcation of so much of the boundary between Canada and Alaska as lies along the one hundred and forty-first meridian west from Greenwich, it being assumed that the peak of Mount St. Elias is on that meridian. At several points there were discrepancies in the results obtained by the Americans and the Canadians, and in 1900 negotiations were begun for a new survey by means of telegraphic observations. Meanwhile a modus vivendi was agreed upon, October 20, 1899, by which the property rights of settlers of both nationalities are protected.

The most serious labor strike in the history of the country was that of the anthracite mine-workers in 1902. These had been organized in 1899, and in 1900 had declared a strike, which was settled by an advance of ten per cent. in wages, and other concessions. In February, 1902, the United Mine-workers asked the operators to meet them in conference March 12, and agree upon a wage scale for the ensuing year. This the presidents of the companies declined to do, and they gave their reasons. The matter was brought before the National Civic Federation, but without result. The mine-workers then asked to have the question submitted either to an arbitration

committee of five, or to a Roman Catholic archbishop, a Protestant Episcopal bishop, and one other person. These propositions also were declined. On May 15 the mine-workers declared a strike, their demands being these: An increase of twenty per cent. in the pay of those who worked by the ton. An eight-hour day, with no reduction of the wage, for those employed by the day. Payment by weight to be based on a ton of 2,240 pounds. The miners had previously obtained the passage of a law by the Pennsylvania legislature which forbade any man to work as a miner in the anthracite field unless he had a certificate of competence based on two years' experience as a laborer. Only about 40,000 men held such certificates, and nearly all of them belonged to the union. The whole number of men involved in the strike was 145,000. The men employed in the bituminous coal-fields refused to join in the strike. The mine-owners attempted to operate the mines with non-union labor, and declared that they could do so if their employees and their property were protected as they had a right to be. But there was serious rioting on the part of the strikers, with numerous murders of non-union men and occasioned wrecking of their houses with dynamite; for all of which no one was punished, and no adequate protection was afforded to the men who chose not to be idle. After unaccountable delay, the governor of the State called out militia to suppress the disorder, but to little effect. In many instances the militiamen fraternized with the rioters. The stock of coal in the market ran very low, and prices went up to more than four times the normal. In October the operators offered to submit the matter to the arbitration of a commission to be appointed by the President of the United States, to consist of an engineer officer of the army or the navy, an expert mining engineer not connected with

the coal properties, a judge of the United States District Court, an eminent sociologist, and a practical miner; the findings of the commission to be binding for three years. This proposition was accepted by the mine-workers, and mining was resumed on October 23. But the mines had been practically unworked so long that there was a serious scarcity of anthracite through the ensuing winter. The President appointed the commission, of which Judge George Gray was chairman, and it convened promptly and proceeded at once to take testimony and hear arguments of counsel.

The Samoan or Navigator Islands, in the Pacific, had been guaranteed independence, at a conference signed in Berlin in 1889, by Germany, the United States, and Great Britain. But when King Maleatoa died, in 1898, there was trouble about the succession, and the kingship was abolished. In November, 1899, Great Britain renounced her claim upon the islands, all west of the meridian of  $171^{\circ}$  west from Greenwich to belong to Germany, and all east of it to belong to the United States. This arrangement, which those two powers accepted, gave Germany the two largest islands—Savaii and Upolu—but in giving the island of Tutuila to the United States it gave us the only good harbor in the group, that of Pago Pago. In fact, this landlocked harbor is the largest and best in the Pacific. The island of Tutuila has an area of 54 square miles and nearly 4,000 inhabitants. It is mountainous, well wooded, and very fertile. The other islands in the American part of the group have an area, in the aggregate, of about 25 square miles, with a population of about 2,660. Civil government has been established by the Americans, but the native customs are not interfered with, nor the authority of the native chiefs.

The island possessions of the United States, not



contiguous to our coasts, now include Porto Rico in the West Indies, the Philippine group, the Hawaiian group, Guam of the Ladrone group, a part of the Samoan group, and Wake Island. The last-named is an islet in the Pacific, west of the Hawaiian islands, and about half-way between them and the Ladrones, which may prove valuable as a station for an ocean cable. These island possessions have, all together, an area of more than 140,000 square miles (almost as large as the State of Montana—or more than twice as large as the New England States), with a population of more than ten millions—about as many as New York and Massachusetts together.

The American genius for invention, which manifested itself as soon as the Patent Office was established in 1791, appears never to have ceased its activity to the present day, and never to have lacked more worlds to conquer. One of its earliest triumphs was the cotton-gin, invented in 1793, and this has been followed by the reaping-machine, now developed to an affair drawn by twenty horses, which cuts the wheat, threshes it and cleans it, and puts it into bags as it goes along; the electric telegraph, anæsthetics, the sewing-machine, the telephone, the phonograph, the perfecting-press, the grain-elevator, and the electric railway. The greatest of our living inventors is undoubtedly Thomas Alva Edison, who since the date of his first invention, an automatic repeater for the telegraph, just forty years ago, has been steadily at work with his experiments, and has perhaps produced a greater number of largely useful inventions than any man that ever lived. These include his contributions to the scheme of electric lighting, a part of the telephone, the phonograph, the kinetoscope, and, what seems most wonderful of all, sextuplex telegraphy—the sending of six messages on one wire at the same time. After all these achieve-

ments, with the inventor still in vigorous manhood, and spending his days in his laboratory, no one can tell what new thing will issue from it next.

Keeping an even step with the development of labor-saving machinery, the business development of the country, in manufactures and commerce, has astonished the world, especially in these latter years. It was an old proverb that blood could not be had from a stone; but Americans showed that at least oil may be taken from a rock, and in such enormous quantities as to kill the whale-fishery and illuminate at trifling expense the lonely cabins on the farthest frontiers. The commerce that passes the Strait of Detroit is greater than that of the Suez Canal, and the power of Niagara has been harnessed like a well-broken horse and carried many miles on simple wires. The Falls of St. Anthony, which not many years ago were but a picturesque subject for wandering artists, are now grinding wheat to feed the nations; while the great stock-yards of Chicago furnish the meat that in movable refrigerators goes to the ends of the world. And in 1901 John Pierpont Morgan, an American financier, grandson and namesake of an American poet, organized and brought into being the greatest business concern that ever existed—the United States Steel Corporation—which has a capital of more than a thousand million dollars. In the first six months of that year the railroads of the United States increased their earnings by nearly seventy million dollars. The output of steel rails that year was nearly three million tons, and of pig-iron more than sixteen million tons. The total capitalization of new industrial enterprises incorporated in that year was nearly three thousand million dollars. The wheat yield was six hundred and forty-five million bushels, and the corn crop more than twice as much. More than two hundred million

dollars have been expended on irrigation works for the reclamation of arid lands. The value of the merchandise exported exceeded the value of the imports more than five hundred million dollars ; and the number of immigrants that came to our shores was nearly half a million.

Such was the condition of our country, and such its vast and varied interests, when the youngest of our Presidents was suddenly called to the chief-magistracy. His first annual message made a most gratifying presentment of the condition and prospects of the Union. After paying a glowing tribute to the character of President McKinley, he discussed the danger from anarchists that came to us among the least desirable of the foreign immigrants, and said: "I earnestly recommend to the Congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of anarchists, or persons professing principles hostile to all government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority. Such individuals as those who not long ago gathered in open meeting to glorify the murder of King Hubert of Italy perpetrate a crime, and the law should insure their rigorous punishment. They and those like them should be kept out of this country ; and if found here should they be promptly deported to the country whence they came ; and far-reaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought of the Congress."

He dwelt upon the fact that business confidence had been restored in the past five years and a period of abounding prosperity had begun, and then proceeded to say of the "trusts," which were becoming a political question, "There is a wide-spread conviction in the minds of the American people that the great corporations known as trusts are in certain



of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their enterprises the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolutely truthful representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested. Corporations engaged in interstate commerce should be regulated if they are found to exercise a license working to the public injury. It should be as much the aim of those who seek for social betterment to rid the business world of crimes of cunning as to rid the entire body politic of crimes of violence. Great corporations exist only because they are created and safeguarded by our institutions; and it is therefore our right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions. The first essential in determining how to deal with the great industrial combinations is knowledge of the facts—publicity. In the interest of the public, the government should have the right to inspect and examine the workings of the great corporations engaged in interstate business. Publicity is the only sure remedy which we can now invoke.”

He recommended the creation of a new cabinet office, to be known as the Department of Commerce and Industries.

Of reciprocity, much discussed as a mitigant of tariff burdens, he said: “Subject to this proviso of the proper protection necessary to our industrial well-being at home, the principle of reciprocity must command our hearty support. The phenomenal growth of our export trade emphasizes the urgency of the need for wider markets and for a liberal policy in dealing with foreign nations.”

The one thing in which the United States is inferior to all the great European nations is a merchant marine. This condition has existed ever since our commerce was swept from the high seas by English-built privateers flying the Confederate flag. The attention of Congress and the people has been called to this fact over and over again by our presidents and our publicists, but still it exists. The President made one more plea for a remedy, in these words: "At present American shipping is under certain great disadvantages when put in competition with the shipping of foreign countries. Many of the fast foreign steamships, at a speed of fourteen knots or above, are subsidized; and all our ships, sailing vessels and steamers alike, cargo-carriers of slow speed, and mail-carriers of high speed, have to meet the fact that the original cost of building American ships is greater than is the case abroad; that the wages paid American officers and seamen are very much higher than those paid the officers and seamen of foreign competing countries; and that the standard of living on our ships is far superior to the standard of living on the ships of our commercial rivals. Our government should take such action as will remedy these inequalities. The American merchant marine should be restored to the ocean."

Our forests were disappearing rapidly enough before the axe of the lumberman when an invention of doubtful value enormously increased the peril of their utter extinction. This was the making of paper from pulp, to feed the rapid printing-presses that turn off tens of thousands of sheets in an hour and flood every corner of the country with newspapers and cheap books. The lumberman cuts no tree that is less than eight inches in diameter, but the pulp-mill devours everything, devours every sapling within its reach. The subject of afforestation is coming

to be one of our great economical problems. The President aptly says: "The wise administration of the forest reserves will not be less helpful to the interests which depend on water than to those which depend on wood and grass. The water-supply itself depends upon the forest. In the arid region it is water, not land, which measures production. The western half of the United States would sustain a population greater than that of our whole country to-day if the waters that now run to waste were saved and used for irrigation. The forest and water problems are perhaps the most vital internal questions of the United States." And of irrigation he said: "The forests alone cannot, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid region. Great storage-works are necessary to equalize the flow of streams and to save the flood-waters. Their construction has been conclusively shown to be an undertaking too vast for private effort. Nor can it be best accomplished by the individual States acting alone. Far-reaching interstate problems are involved; and the resources of single States would often be inadequate. It is properly a national function, at least in some of its features."

There was a loud and continued cry—though probably not from a great number—that our Government was but practicing tyranny in subduing the Filipinos and keeping possession of that archipelago, and that it should be relinquished. On this subject the President says: "History may safely be challenged to show a single instance in which a masterful race such as ours, having been forced by the exigencies of war to take possession of an alien land, has behaved to its inhabitants with the disinterested zeal for their progress that our people have shown in the Philippines. To leave the islands at this time would mean that they would fall into a welter of murderous



anarchy. Such desertion of duty on our part would be a crime against humanity."

Of the much-discussed Monroe doctrine he made this declaration: "The Monroe doctrine should be the cardinal feature of the foreign policy of all the nations of the two Americas, as it is of the United States. Just seventy-eight years have passed since President Monroe in his annual message announced that 'the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.' In other words, the Monroe doctrine is a declaration that there must be no territorial aggrandizement by any non-American power at the expense of any American power on American soil. It is no wise intended as hostile to any nation in the Old World. Still less is it intended to give cover to any aggression by one New World power at the expense of any other. It is simply a step, and a long step, toward assuring the universal peace of the world by securing the possibility of permanent peace on this hemisphere."

When Perry won his decisive victory on Lake Erie, in 1813, two of the largest vessels of his fleet had been built the winter before, at Erie, Pa., from green timber just felled in the forest. Half a century later, when our country was plunged into civil war, iron-clad gunboats, for service on the western rivers, were built in one hundred days. But so great has been the advance in naval architecture and naval gunnery that the warships of the great nations now require years for their construction and equipment. The building of our modern navy—the ships by which the pride of Spain was humbled and her flag abolished from the Western Hemisphere—was begun in 1882, and has been in progress ever since, the most powerful vessels having been built since 1892. The largest afloat is the new battleship Maine, launched

in July, 1901, which has a displacement of twelve thousand three hundred tons and engines of sixteen thousand horse-power, can carry two thousand tons of coal, and has a speed of eighteen knots an hour. Of others that have been planned, but not yet built, some are to have a displacement of fifteen thousand tons and engines of nineteen thousand horse-power, with a speed of nineteen knots. The whole number of vessels in our navy is three hundred and five, of which all but seventeen are fit for sea service. Twenty of these are battleships, eight are armored cruisers, and twenty-three are protected cruisers. The others are smaller and less powerful, torpedo-boats, supply-ships, etc. Some of the protected cruisers can make twenty-three knots an hour. The largest of these ships are clad in heavy steel armor, and all are armed with improved breech-loading and rapid-firing guns. The latest experiments have been with submarine torpedo-boats, and one of these invented by ——— Holland, has proved successful. Rear-Admiral John Lowe remained in it beneath the surface of the water fifteen hours, and reported that it was perfectly manageable. Attempts at this method of warfare have been made from time to time since the first years of the nineteenth century; but heretofore they have proved harmful only to their inventors and navigators.

Our navy has 1,945 officers (commissioned and warrant), and 25,228 enlisted men. The active officers comprise 1 admiral, 24 rear-admirals, and 75 captains. In addition we have a marine corps of 200 officers and 6,000 men, and naval militia in several of the States, consisting in the aggregate of more than 400 officers and 4,600 men.

The maintenance of an army is a simpler problem, since the country has proved more than once that it can quickly put into the field a vast number of volun-

teers who, from their superior intelligence and education, need but little drill to become equal to regulars. According to the act of Congress of February 2, 1901, the army now consists of 15 regiments of cavalry, 1 artillery corps, 30 field batteries and 126 companies of coast artillery, 30 regiments of infantry, 3 battalions of engineers, and an additional provisional force of 5,000 men. The total strength is about 66,000 men, of whom 3,800 are commissioned officers. The law limits the total strength to 100,000 men.

Our armament is not so vast and powerful as those of some of the European nations; but one of our most eminent citizens has called attention to the fact that it need not be, since in case of war with them we should only have to close our ports and deprive them of our agricultural products on which they so largely subsist.

The march of invention and discovery goes on steadily, and usually Americans are in the lead. The recently perfected discovery that mosquitoes are the distributors of malaria—one of the most important in the medical world—was made and published by Dr. Albert F. A. King, of Washington, as long ago as 1883.

Edison's wonderful feat of sending six messages simultaneously on one wire has been eclipsed by William Marconi, who sends them thousands of miles on no wire at all. In January, 1903, a wireless message of more than fifty words was sent across the Atlantic from the President of the United States to the King of England, and an answer of equal length was promptly returned. And still later a message was wafted through the ambient air from the United States to Italy.

The dream that began with the Montgolfiers a hundred and twenty years ago has never been abandon-



ed. Tennyson expresses it poetically in one of his finest creations:

"Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,  
Pilots of the purple twilight dropping down with costly bales;  
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rained a  
ghastly dew  
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;  
Far along the world wide whisper of the south wind rushing  
warm,  
With the standards of the peoples plunging through the thunder-storm."

The art of navigating the air has not yet reached that perfection, but great advances have been made. Some of the most daring ascents have been made by American aeronauts, and the longest balloon voyage on authentic record is that of John La Mountain and three companions from St. Louis, Mo., to Watertown, N. Y., more than 800 miles, in sixteen hours. Experiments with dirigible balloons, or air-ships, have been renewed and extended in the past few years; and among the foremost inventors and experimenters is Professor Samuel P. Langley, who has been working on the problem of flight through the air by mechanical means.

With all our material progress and vast accumulation of wealth, it is gratifying to know that we are not growing sordid and penurious. There is not a country in the world that spends money so liberally for popular education, or that has developed so many ways of reaching the people with instruction and making it available to them. Nor is there one in which so much money is given from private means for public uses. For several years a careful record has been kept of the gifts and bequests of American citizens for educational, religious, and benevolent purposes. In this record no account is taken of any gift of less value than \$5,000, or of the regular offerings of churches, or of legislative appropriations.

In 1900 the total was \$47,500,000. In 1901 it was \$107,360,000. In 1902 it was \$94,000,000.

When we consider that all these things are taking place in a country of more than 3,000,000 square miles, the only one that borders on both the great oceans, with a chain of lakes on the north and an inland sea on the south, with navigable rivers, fertile plains, and mountains filled with mineral wealth, in the north temperate zone, with a people speaking the language of the business world, and having the most popular government ever known, we may reasonably cherish a considerable pride that we are Americans.

## CHAPTER LXXIX.

1900—1904

### ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION.

Important Treaties.—Inheritance of Property.—International Arbitration.—Articles of War.—Alaska Boundary.—Extradition.—Panama Ship Canal.

Within a few years more than a dozen treaties, some of them of the highest importance, between the United States and other powers, have been ratified and proclaimed.

One between the United States and Great Britain, relating to the tenure and disposition of property inherited by a citizen of one country from a citizen of the other, was proclaimed August 6, 1900. This provides that when real property is thus inherited (or would be so inherited were it not contrary to the laws of the land where the property is situated), the inheritor shall be allowed a term of three years in which to sell the property, this term to be reasonably extended if circumstances render it necessary, and shall be allowed to carry the proceeds out of the country exempt from any taxes or charges other than those that may be imposed in like cases upon citizens of the country from which the proceeds are drawn. And in like manner a citizen of either country may dispose by will of his personal property within the territory of the other. It also provides that in case any citizen of either country dies in the other, leaving neither known heirs nor testamentary executors, the local authorities shall inform the nearest consular officer of the nation to which the deceased person belonged, and such officer shall have the right



to appear in behalf of any absent heirs or creditors. And it is added that, in all that concerns the right of disposing of every kind of property, real or personal, citizens or subjects of each of the high contracting parties shall in the dominions of the other enjoy the rights which are or may be accorded to the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. Most of the colonies of Great Britain—Canada being an exception—promptly acceded to this treaty.

On November 1, 1901, the President proclaimed that a treaty had been entered into by the United States with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Siam, Sweden and Norway, Bulgaria, Japan, Montenegro, Switzerland, Greece, Mexico, Serbia, and Luxemburg for the permanent institution of an international court of arbitration. The representatives of these governments met at The Hague to formulate the rules for such a court. The representatives of the United States at this conference were Andrew D. White, Seth Low, Stanford Newel, and Alfred T. Mahan. By the articles adopted, the signatory powers were committed to these principles and rules: To use their best efforts to insure pacific settlement of international differences. In case of serious disagreement, to have recourse, before an appeal to arms, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly powers. That one or more powers, strangers to the dispute, should on their own initiative offer their good offices as mediators, even during hostilities. That the functions of the mediator are at an end when either party to the dispute declines the proposed means of reconciliation. That the good offices and mediation should have exclusively the character of advice and never be of binding force. That the acceptance of media-

tion should not delay or hinder mobilization or other preparation for war. That if mediation occurs after hostilities are begun, it shall cause no interruption of military operations in progress. The signatory powers undertake to organize a permanent court of arbitration, accessible at all times, and competent for all arbitration cases unless the parties agree to institute a special tribunal. An international bureau, established at The Hague, serves as a record office for the court. Each power is to appoint, for a term of six years, not more than four persons "of known competency in questions of international law, of the highest moral reputation, and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators," who shall be members of the court. For any case that comes before the court, arbitrators are to be chosen from this list. A permanent administrative council, composed of the diplomatic representatives of the signatory powers accredited to The Hague and the Netherland Minister of Foreign Affairs, is provided for, and is charged with the establishment of the international bureau. The course of procedure in cases of arbitration is minutely set forth in several articles. The representatives of the United States, in signing the treaty, made this reservation: "Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling administration of any foreign state; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

On April 20, 1903, Andrew Carnegie gave \$1,500,000 to erect a Temple of Peace at The Hague for the Court of Arbitration.

On November 1, 1901, the President proclaimed a

treaty that had been ratified between the United States and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, China, Denmark, Spain, Mexico, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Servia, Siam, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, and Bulgaria, for the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864. This provides that hospital ships shall be respected and be exempt from capture, and that the religious, medical, or hospital staff of any captured ship shall be inviolable, and its members can not be made prisoners of war.

On the same day was proclaimed a treaty concerning "the launching of projectiles and explosives from balloons, and other new methods of a similar nature." It is agreed that this shall be prohibited for a term of five years. The powers that joined in this treaty were the same, with one exception, that signed the treaty described in the last paragraph. It is noticeable that Great Britain's signature is withheld from this treaty.

On April 11, 1902, the President proclaimed the ratification of a treaty, signed by Great Britain as well as by the powers mentioned above, to regulate the laws and customs of war on land. Some of the sixty articles of war thus adopted are identical with those long since observed. Others included these:

"The population of a territory which has not been occupied who, on the enemy's approach, spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading troops without having time to organize themselves in accordance with Article I. [with officers and a distinctive flag] shall be regarded a belligerent if they respect the laws and customs of war."

"Prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile government, but not in that of the individual or corps



who captured them. They must be humanely treated. All their personal belongings, except arms, horses, and military papers, remain their property."

"The state may utilize the labor of prisoners of war according to their rank and aptitude. Their tasks shall not be excessive, and shall have nothing to do with the military operations. Prisoners may be authorized to work for the public service, for private persons, or on their own account. Work done for the state shall be paid for according to the tariffs in force for soldiers of the national army employed on similar tasks. The wages of the prisoners shall go towards improving their position, and the balance shall be paid them at the time of their release, after deducting the cost of their maintenance."

"Individuals who follow an army without directly belonging to it, such as newspaper correspondents and reporters, sutlers, contractors, who fall into the enemy's hands, and whom the latter think fit to detain, have a right to be treated as prisoners of war, provided they can produce a certificate from the military authorities of the army they were accompanying."

"A bureau for information relative to prisoners of war is instituted, on the commencement of hostilities, in each of the belligerent states, and, when necessary, in the neutral countries on whose territory belligerents have been received. This bureau is intended to answer all inquiries about prisoners of war, and is furnished by the various services concerned with all the necessary information to enable it to keep an individual return for each prisoner of war. It is also the duty of the information bureau to receive and collect all objects of personal use, valuables, letters, etc., found on the battlefields or left by prisoners who have died in hospital or ambulance, and to transmit them to those interested."

"Relief societies for prisoners of war, which are regularly constituted in accordance with the law of the country with the object of serving as the intermediary for charity, shall receive from the belligerents for themselves and their duly accredited agents every facility, within the bounds of military requirements and administrative regulations, for the effective accomplishment of their humane task."

"The information bureau shall have the privilege of free postage. Letters, money orders, and valuables, as well as postal parcels destined for the prisoners of war or despatched by them, shall be free of all postal duties. Gifts and relief in kind for prisoners of war shall be admitted free of all duties of entry and others, as well as of payments for carriage by the government railways."

"Officers taken prisoners may receive, if necessary, the full pay allowed them in this position by their country's regulations, the amount to be repaid by their government."

"The right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited. Besides the prohibitions provided by special conventions, it is especially prohibited:

- "(a) To employ poison or poisoned arms;
- "(b) To kill or wound treacherously individuals belonging to the hostile nation or army;
- "(c) To kill or wound an enemy who, having laid down arms or having no longer means of defence, has surrendered at discretion;
- "(d) To declare that no quarter will be given;
- "(e) To employ arms, projectiles, or material of a nature to cause superfluous injury;
- "(f) To make improper use of a flag of truce, the national flag, or military ensigns and the enemy's uniform, as well as the distinctive badges of the Geneva Convention;

“(g) To destroy or seize the enemy’s property, unless such destruction or seizure be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war.”

“In sieges and bombardments all necessary steps should be taken to spare as far as possible edifices devoted to religion, art, science, and charity, hospitals, and places where the sick and wounded are collected, provided they are not used at the same time for military purposes. The besieged should indicate these buildings or places by some particular and visible signs, which should previously be notified to the assailants.”

“The pillage of a town or place, even when taken by assault, is prohibited.”

“Family honors and rights, individual lives and private property, as well as religious convictions and liberty, must be respected. Private property cannot be confiscated.”

“No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, can be inflicted on the population on account of the acts of individuals for which it cannot be regarded as collectively responsible.”

“The property of the communes, that of religious, charitable, and educational institutions, and those of arts and science, even when state property, shall be treated as private property.”

A treaty between the United States and Guatemala, which secures to a citizen of either country the same protection for his trade-marks or trade-labels in the other country that he enjoys in his own, was ratified and proclaimed April 11, 1902.

On October 17, 1902, a treaty between the United States and Great Britain concerning import duties in the British protectorate of Zanzibar was proclaimed. It provides that for a period of fifteen years the tariff on merchandise imported into Zanzibar—except for spirits, firearms, and ammunition—shall not exceed



ten per cent.; that neither differential treatment nor transit duty shall be established in the protectorate; and that, not only in respect to tariffs but also in respect to all commercial interests, citizens and vessels of the United States shall enjoy the same rights, immunities, and protection that are accorded to the most favored nation.

One of the most important of the treaties was that which was signed January 24, 1903, and ratified and proclaimed on the 3d of March following, between the United States and Great Britain, for a settlement of questions concerning the boundary line between Alaska and British America. That boundary was indicated with sufficient distinctness in the treaty between Russia and Great Britain concluded in 1825; and whatever rights Russia had under that treaty necessarily passed to the United States when Russia sold Alaska to us in 1867. But with the recent discovery of gold in Alaska arose in the Canadian mind a covetous desire for so much of that territory which constitutes the long, southerly extension of Alaska as would guarantee all the approaches from the sea to the gold-fields. The treaty of 1825 defined the boundary as beginning at the most southerly point of Prince of Wales Island, thence following up the inlet known as the Portland Canal, and thence northward along the crest of the mountains; providing that where the crest of the mountains should be found to be more than ten marine leagues (thirty miles) from the coast the line there should be parallel with the sinuosities of the coast and ten leagues from it. This was also clearly indicated on British maps made at that time. The Canadians set up the claim that the line should go straight from headland to headland, crossing some of the bays and inlets, giving Canada the ports, and producing isolated pieces of United States territory. The treaty provided that:

"The tribunal shall consist of six impartial jurists of repute, who shall consider judicially the questions submitted to them, each of whom shall first subscribe an oath that he will impartially consider the arguments and evidence presented to the tribunal and will decide thereupon according to his true judgment. Three members of the tribunal shall be appointed by the President of the United States and three by His Britannic Majesty. All questions considered by the tribunal, including the final award, shall be decided by a majority of all the members thereof." It also provided that the tribunal should consider the Russo-British treaty of 1825, and that: "Each party may present to the tribunal all pertinent evidence, documentary, historical, geographical, or topographical, including maps and charts, in its possession or control and applicable to the rightful decision of the questions submitted; and if it appears to the tribunal that there is evidence pertinent to the case in the possession of either party which has not been produced, the tribunal may in its discretion order the production of the same by the party having control thereof." The treaty specifically instructed the tribunal to consider and decide these questions, referring to articles in the treaty of 1825:

"1. What is intended as the point of commencement of the line?

"2. What channel is the Portland Channel?

"3. What course should the line take from the point of commencement to the entrance to Portland Channel?

"4. To what point on the 56th parallel is the line to be drawn from the head of the Portland Channel, and what course should it follow between these points?

"5. In extending the line of demarcation northward from said point on the parallel of the 56th de-

gree of north latitude, following the crest of the mountains situated parallel to the coast until its intersection with the 141st degree of longitude west of Greenwich, subject to the condition that if such line should anywhere exceed the distance of ten marine leagues from the ocean then the boundary between the British and the Russian territory should be formed by a line parallel to the sinuosities of the coast and distant therefrom not more than ten marine leagues, was it the intention and meaning of said convention of 1825 that there should remain in the exclusive possession of Russia a continuous fringe or strip of coast on the mainland, not exceeding ten marine leagues in width, separating the British possessions from the bays, ports, inlets, havens, and waters of the ocean, and extending from the said point on the 56th degree of latitude north to a point where such line of demarcation should intersect the 141st degree of longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich?

"6. If the foregoing question should be answered in the negative, and in the event of the summit of such mountains proving to be in places more than ten marine leagues from the coast, should the width of the lisiere which was to belong to Russia be measured (1) from the mainland coast of the ocean, strictly so called, along a line perpendicular thereto, or (2) was it the intention and meaning of the said convention that where the mainland coast is indented by deep inlets, forming part of the territorial waters of Russia, the width of the lisiere was to be measured (a) from the line of the general direction of the mainland coast, or (b) from the line separating the waters of the ocean from the territorial waters of Russia, or (c) from the heads of the aforesaid inlets?

"7. What, if any exists, are the mountains referred



to as situated parallel to the coast, which mountains, when within ten marine leagues from the coast, are declared to form the eastern boundary?"

The tribunal met in London, and its decision was rendered October 17, 1903. This decision was in favor of the United States on all points, except that it gave to Canada the Portland Canal, which forms the southern boundary of that portion of Alaska. The Canadians, whose eagerness for the territory had even carried them to the length of producing a false map, were disappointed by the decision and were seriously offended because one of the British commissioners recognizing a plain case, and mindful of his oath, had voted with the Americans.

Supplementary extradition treaties were concluded with Mexico, April 3, 1903, and with the Netherlands, May 31, 1904.

A treaty of friendship and general relations was concluded with Spain, April 30, 1903, reestablishing the conditions that existed before the war of 1898.

A treaty for the construction of the proposed Panama ship canal by the United States was signed on January 22, 1903, and was ratified by the United States Senate on March 17, the vote being 73 to 5. But the Colombian Senate rejected it August 17, and two months later proposed a new treaty that involved the payment to Colombia by the United States of \$25,000,000. It was evident that the Colombian Government was simply playing fast and loose in order to get as much money as possible for a concession that would be an actual advantage to that country. This, together with other grievances, incensed the people of the State of Panama to the point of insurrection, and when it appeared that the uprising was successful, and the Republic of Panama was proclaimed November 3, the United States Government three days later recognized it as an independent

power. On the 18th of that month Secretary Hay and Mr. Bunau-Varilla, Panama's minister at Washington, signed a new treaty for the isthmian canal, which was ratified and proclaimed February 26, 1904. Meanwhile Colombia had offered to make a canal concession to the United States free of cost if the United States would permit the subjugation of Panama. By the new treaty the United States guarantees to maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama; and the general concession is in these words:

"The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control of a zone of land and land under water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of said canal of the width of ten miles, extending to the distance of five miles on each side of the centre line of the route of the canal to be constructed; the said zone beginning in the Caribbean Sea, three marine miles from mean low-water mark, and extending to and across the Isthmus of Panama into the Pacific Ocean to a distance of three marine miles from mean low-water mark, with the proviso that the cities of Panama and Colon and the harbors adjacent to said cities, which are included within the boundaries of the zone above described, shall not be included within this grant. The Republic of Panama further grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control of any other lands and waters outside of the zone above described which may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of the said canal or of any auxiliary canals, or other works necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of the said enterprise. The Republic of Panama further grants in like manner to the United States in perpetuity all islands within the limits of

the zone above described and in addition thereto the group of small islands in the Bay of Panama, named Perico, Naos, Culebra, and Flamenco. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, powers, and authority within the zone mentioned and described in Article II. of this agreement, and within the limits of all auxiliary lands and waters mentioned and described in said Article II. which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory within which said lands and waters are located, to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power, or authority."

The treaty also gives to the United States the use of all streams and lakes that may be necessary, in connection with the canal for navigation, power, or sanitation, and also a monopoly for the construction and operation of any system of communication, by canal or railroad, across the isthmus from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean. The rights of policing and sanitation are specifically granted. The Republic of Panama transfers to the United States all rights or proprietorship that it may have in the property of the New Panama Canal Company and the Panama Railroad Company, and authorizes those companies to grant or sell their properties and privileges to the United States. The United States agrees to pay to the Republic of Panama \$10,000,000 in gold on the ratification of the treaty, and \$250,000 a year thereafter, beginning nine years after the ratification. Any disputes that may arise are to be referred to a joint commission. The United States paid the Canal Company \$40,000,000 for its property and franchise.

The importance of a ship canal by means of which both war vessels and merchant craft may be passed, through United States territory exclusively, from the



ocean to the Great Lakes, has been often urged upon legislators. In 1903 the Legislature of New York passed a bill, subject to popular approval, appropriating \$101,000,000 for enlargement of the Erie Canal, and the action was ratified at the polls in the succeeding election. This, indeed, only contemplates a widening and deepening, with some changes of route, to make a barge canal; but it is looked upon as a step toward the construction of ship canal which is supposed to be one of the certainties of the future.

## CHAPTER LXXX.

1904—1905

### ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION—Continued.

The Presidential Election of 1904.—Chief Declarations of the Platforms.—The Result Compared.—Principal Topics of the Annual Message.—Labor and Capital.—Trusts.—Immigration and Citizenship.—The Agricultural Department and its Work.—Establishment of the Department of Commerce and Labor.—Growth of Cities.—Reciprocity With Cuba.—The Pacific Cable.—The Mormon Question.

The most important event of the year 1904 was the Presidential election. The platform of the Republican party recalled the fact that the party was now exactly half a century old, and that in the forty-four years since its first triumph by the election of Abraham Lincoln it had had complete control of the Government twenty-four years, and partial control for eighteen more, and reasoned that this was not due to chance, but was a demonstration that the party had commanded the confidence of the American people for nearly two generations to a degree never equalled in our history, because it had displayed a high capacity for government, "which has been made even more conspicuous by the incapacity and infirmity of purpose shown by its opponents." It reminded the public that it had made protection of home industries the national policy, had established the gold standard, and had so established the public credit that even in time of war the Government was able to borrow money at two per cent. It claimed credit for the enterprise of an isthmian canal, the irrigation of arid lands at the West, the reorganization of the army, the improvement of the militia, and the steady increase of the navy. On the much-

debated subject of the "trusts" it made this declaration:

"Laws enacted by the Republican party, which the Democratic party failed to enforce, and which were intended for the protection of the public against the unjust discrimination or the illegal encroachment of vast aggregations of capital, have been fearlessly enforced by a Republican President, and new laws insuring reasonable publicity as to the operations of great corporations, and providing additional remedies for the prevention of discrimination in freight rates, have been passed by a Republican Congress. We promise to continue these policies."

Its other declarations included these:

"We insist upon the maintenance of the principle of protection, and therefore rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration; but this work cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. Whether, as in 1892, the Democratic party declares the protective tariff unconstitutional or whether it demands tariff reform or tariff revision, its real object is always the destruction of the protective system."

"We have extended widely our foreign markets, and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their further extension, including commercial reciprocity wherever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor, or any American industry."

"The maintenance of the gold standard, established by the Republican party, cannot safely be committed to the Democratic party, which resisted its adoption and has never given any proof since that time of belief in it or fidelity to it."



"We favor legislation which will encourage and build up the American merchant marine, and we cordially approve the legislation of the last Congress which created the Merchant Marine Commission to investigate and report upon this subject."

"We cordially approve the attitude of President Roosevelt and Congress in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor, and promise a continuance of the Republican policy in that direction."

The newest and most radical declaration was this:

"We favor such Congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited, and, if such is the case, we demand that representation in Congress and in the electoral college shall be proportionally reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States."

On the subject of trusts of all kinds it made this declaration:

"Combinations of capital and of labor are the results of the economic movement of the age; but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations, when lawfully formed for lawful purposes, are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws, and neither can be permitted to break them."

The platform then paid a high tribute to the character of President McKinley, and recited the acts of President Roosevelt's administration.

The Convention unanimously nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President, with Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, for Vice-President.

The platform adopted by the Democratic National Convention contained these declarations:

"Large reductions can easily be made in the annual expenditures of the Government without impair-

ing the efficiency of any branch of the public service, and we shall insist upon the strictest economy and frugality compatible with vigorous and efficient civil, military, and naval administration as a right of the people too clear to be denied or withheld."

"We favor the enforcement of honesty in the public service, and to that end a thorough legislative investigation of those executive departments of the government already known to teem with corruption, as well as other departments suspected of harboring corruption, and the punishment of ascertained corruptionists."

"We condemn the action of the Republican party in Congress in refusing to prohibit an executive department from entering into contracts with convicted trusts or unlawful combinations in restraint of inter-state trade."

"We insist that we ought to do for the Filipinos what we have done already for the Cubans, and it is our duty to make that promise now, and upon suitable guarantees of protection to citizens of our own and other countries resident there at the time of our withdrawal, set the Filipino people upon their feet, free and independent, to work out their own destiny."

"We denounce protectionism as a robbery of the many to enrich the few; and we favor a tariff limited to the needs of the Government economically, effectively, and constitutionally administered, and so levied as not to discriminate against any industry, class, or section."

"We recognize that the gigantic trusts and combinations designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint products of capital and labor, and which have been fostered and promoted under Republican rules, are a menace to beneficial competition and an obstacle to permanent business prosperity."

“We approve the measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, but which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact, relating to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.”

“We favor liberal appropriations for the care and improvement of the waterways of the country.”

“We favor the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people.”

“We favor the admission of the Territories of Oklahoma and Indian Territory. We also favor the immediate admission of Arizona and New Mexico as separate States.”

“We demand the examination of polygamy within the jurisdiction of the United States, and the complete separation of Church and State in political affairs.”

“We denounce the ship-subsidy bill recently passed by the United States Senate as an iniquitous appropriation of public funds for private purposes. We favor the upbuilding of a merchant marine without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury.”

“We favor liberal trade arrangements with Canada and with peoples of other countries where they can be entered into with benefit to American agriculture, manufactures, mining, or commerce.”

“We favor the reduction of the army and of army expenditures to the point historically demonstrated to be safe and sufficient.”

“We deprecate and condemn the Bourbon-like, selfish, and narrow spirit of the recent Republican Convention at Chicago, which sought to enkindle anew the embers of racial and sectional strife, and we appeal from it to the sober common sense and patriotic spirit of the American people.” This refers to that paragraph in the Republican platform which de-



mands that representation in Congress and in the electoral college be proportionally reduced in those States that limit the franchise.

The Convention nominated Alton Brooks Parker, a judge of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, for President, and Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia, for Vice-President. Before it adjourned, Judge Parker addressed to it a telegram declaring his belief that the gold standard had been made irrevocable.

The People's party offered a platform that called for postal savings banks; abolition of child labor and of convict labor; a shorter work day; the initiative and referendum; prohibition of alien ownership of land; government ownership of railroads and telegraphs; abolition of "government by injunction"; and suppression of trusts and monopolies.

Thomas L. Watson, of Georgia, was nominated for President.

There were nominations also by the Prohibition party, the Socialist party, and the Social Labor party.

The campaign was quiet in comparison with some of recent years. In the latter part of it Judge Parker went into the field as a speaker, in the face of the fact that no Presidential candidate that has done so has been successful in the election. The result was that Roosevelt carried all the States except the solid South, receiving 336 electoral votes to 140 for Parker. The total popular vote was smaller by 460,078 than in 1900, the falling off being almost entirely in the Southern States. Roosevelt received 7,627,632 of the popular vote, and Parker 5,080,054. Roosevelt's majority over all was 1,746,768. The Socialist ticket, headed by Eugene V. Debs, received 391,587 votes; the Prohibition, 260,303; the People's party, 114,637; and the Social Labor, 33,453.

The only Presidential elections that resembled this

in the overwhelming nature of the victory were those of Monroe in 1820, Pierce in 1852, and Lincoln in 1864. The reasons for this result that were generally agreed upon were, that no important issue was sharply set forth between the two great parties; that many voters, mindful of the present prosperity of the country, were unwilling to risk a change; and that a large portion of the Democratic party still favored free coinage of silver and were not pleased with the repudiation of this principle by the Convention.

President Roosevelt's message on the opening of Congress in December, 1904, was received with general favor at home and with marked commendation abroad, as a clear, honest, and temperate discussion of living issues. Perhaps the most important of these, the one that most urgently calls for settlement, is that of the true, final, and amicable relation between capital and labor. If this vital question is capable of a satisfactory settlement, it would seem that our free and enlightened country offers the most promising field in which to seek that solution. The President, in his message, thus discussed it.

"In the vast and complicated mechanism of our modern civilized life the dominant note is the note of industrialism; and the relations of capital and labor, and especially of organized capital and organized labor, to each other and to the public at large, come second in importance only to the intimate questions of family life. Our peculiar form of government, with its sharp division of authority between the nation and the several States, has been on the whole far more advantageous to our development than a more strongly centralized government. But it is undoubtedly responsible for much of the difficulty of meeting with adequate legislation the new problems presented by the total change in industrial conditions on this

continent during the last half century. In actual practice it has proved exceedingly difficult, and in many cases impossible, to get unanimity of wise action among the various States on these subjects. From the very nature of the case, this is especially true of the laws affecting the employment of capital in huge masses. With regard to labor the problem is no less important, but it is simpler. As long as the States retain the primary control of the police power the circumstances must be altogether extreme which require interference by the Federal authorities, whether in the way of safeguarding the rights of labor or in the way of seeing that wrong is not done by unruly persons who shield themselves behind the name of labor. If there is resistance to the Federal courts, interference with the mails or interstate commerce, or molestation of Federal property, or if the State authorities in some crisis which they are unable to face call for help, then the Federal Government may interfere; but though such interference may be caused by a condition of things arising out of trouble connected with some question of labor, the interference itself simply takes the form of restoring order without regard to the questions which have caused the breach of order—for to keep order is a primary duty, and in a time of disorder and violence all other questions sink into abeyance until order has been restored. In the District of Columbia and in the Territories the Federal law covers the entire field of government; but the labor question is only acute in populous centres of commerce, manufactures, or mining. Nevertheless, both in the enactment and in the enforcement of law the Federal Government within its restricted sphere should set an example to the State governments, especially in a matter so vital as this affecting labor.

“I believe that under modern industrial conditions



it is often necessary, and even where not necessary it is yet often wise, that there should be organization of labor in order better to secure the rights of the individual wage-worker. All encouragement should be given to any such organization, so long as it is conducted with a due and decent regard for the rights of others. There are in this country some labor unions which have habitually, and other labor unions which have often, been among the most effective agents in working for good citizenship and for uplifting the condition of those whose welfare should be closest to our hearts. But when any labor union seeks improper ends or seeks to achieve proper ends by improper means, all good citizens, and more especially all honorable public servants, must oppose the wrong-doing as resolutely as they would oppose the wrong-doing of any great corporation. Of course, any violence, brutality, or corruption should not for one moment be tolerated. Wage-workers have an entire right to organize, and by all peaceful and honorable means to endeavor to persuade their fellows to join with them in organizations. They have a legal right, which, according to circumstances, may or may not be a moral right, to refuse to work in company with men who decline to join their organizations. They have under no circumstances the right to commit violence upon those, whether capitalists or wage-workers, who refuse to support their organizations, or who side with those with whom they are at odds, for mob rule is intolerable in any form.

“There is no objection to employees of the Government forming or belonging to unions, but the Government can neither discriminate for nor discriminate against non-union men who are in its employment or who seek to be employed under it. Moreover, it is a very grave impropriety for Government employees to band themselves together for the pur-

pose of extorting improperly high salaries from the Government. Especially is this true of those within the classified service. The letter-carriers, both municipal and rural, are as a whole an excellent body of public servants. They should be amply paid. But their payment must be obtained by arguing their claims fairly and honorably before the Congress, and not by banding together for the defeat of those Congressmen who refuse to give promises which they cannot in conscience give. The administration has already taken steps to prevent and punish abuses of this nature, but it will be wise for the Congress to supplement this action by legislation."

Closely allied to this subject—indeed a part of it—is that of the restraint within proper bounds of great corporations, commonly called "trusts," which strive to crush out the competition of small producers or dealers in their respective lines. These have incurred an intense popular hatred, perhaps in some instances more than they deserve, and every political convention declares against them. The President thus sets forth his idea of the proper way to deal with the problem:

"When we come to deal with great corporations the need for the Government to act directly is far greater than in the case of labor, because great corporations can become such only by engaging in interstate commerce, and interstate commerce is peculiarly the field of the General Government. It is an absurdity to expect to eliminate the abuses in great corporations by State action. It is difficult to be patient with an argument that such matters should be left to the States, because more than one State pursues the policy of creating on easy terms corporations which are never operated within that State at all, but in other States, whose laws they ignore. The National Government alone can deal adequately

with these great corporations. To try to deal with them in an intemperate, destructive, or demagogic spirit would in all probability mean that nothing whatever would be accomplished, and, with absolute certainty, that if anything were accomplished it would be of a harmful nature. The American people need to continue to show the very qualities that they have shown—that is, moderation, good sense, the earnest desire to avoid doing any damage, and yet the quiet determination to proceed, step by step, without halt and without hurry, in eliminating, or, at least, in minimizing, whatever of mischief or of evil there is to interstate commerce in the conduct of great corporations. They are acting in no spirit of hostility to wealth, either individual or corporate. They are not against the rich man any more than against the poor man. On the contrary, they are friendly alike toward rich man and toward poor man, provided only that each acts in a spirit of justice and decency toward his fellows. Great corporations are necessary, and only men of great and singular mental power can manage such corporations successfully, and such men must have great rewards. But these corporations should be managed with due regard to the interest of the public as a whole.

“Yet we must never forget the determining factor in every kind of work, of head or hand, must be the man’s own good sense, courage, and kindness. More important than any legislation is the gradual growth of a feeling of responsibility and forbearance among capitalists and wage-workers alike; a feeling of respect on the part of each man for the rights of others; a feeling of broad community of interest, not merely of capitalists among themselves and of wage-workers among themselves, but of capitalists and wage-workers in their relations to each other and of both in their relation to their fellows who with them



make up the body politic. There are many captains of industry, many labor leaders, who realize this.

"The Bureau of Corporations has made careful preliminary investigation of many important corporations. It will make a special report on the beef industry. The policy of the bureau is to accomplish the purposes of its creation by cooperation, not antagonism; by making constructive legislation, not destructive prosecution, the immediate object of its inquiries; by conservative investigation of law and fact, and by refusal to issue incomplete and hence necessarily inaccurate reports. Its policy being thus one of open inquiry into, and not attack upon, business, the bureau has been able to gain not only the confidence, but, better still, the cooperation of men engaged in legitimate business. The bureau offers to the Congress the means of getting at the cost of production of our various great staples of commerce.

"Of necessity the careful investigation of special corporations will afford the commissioner knowledge of certain business facts the publication of which might be an improper infringement of private rights. The method of making public the results of these investigations affords under the law a means for the protection of private rights. The Congress will have all facts except such as would give to another corporation information which would injure the legitimate business of a competitor and destroy the incentive for individual superiority and thrift.

"The bureau has also made exhaustive examinations into the legal condition under which corporate business is carried on in the various States, into all judicial decisions on the subject and into the various system of corporate taxation in use. I call special attention to the report of the chief of the bureau, and I earnestly ask that the Congress carefully con-

sider the report and recommendations of the commissioner on this subject."

The most notable thing thus far accomplished in the way of preventing the formation of a great monopoly was regarding the merger of the Northern Securities Company. It was planned to merge in one company the proprietorship of two great competing trunk lines of railway. By direction of the President, the Attorney-General brought the resources of his office to bear upon the case and defeated the project. On April 9, 1903, the United States Court of Appeals declared the merger to be illegal.

Another subject that has created grave apprehension in the minds of many citizens, and has called for serious discussion and action by Congress, is that of immigration. Virtually, the ports of the United States have always been open to European immigration of every class that could not be proved indisputably to be either criminal or pauper. It cannot be denied that this gives rise to great dangers, nor that these dangers are greater now when the heavy flood of immigration comes from southern Europe instead of, as formerly, from the northern countries of that continent. A fact that increases the danger is the crowding of these immigrants mainly in the cities. It is seriously held by some thoughtful and patriotic citizens that all immigration should be prohibited for a period of ten or fifteen years, till those new citizens already here can be educated into familiarity with our laws and way of life. The President in his message took a somewhat different view. He said:

"In dealing with the questions of immigration and naturalization, it is indispensable to keep certain facts ever before the minds of those who share in enacting the laws. First and foremost, let us remember that the question of being a good American has nothing whatever to do with a man's birthplace any

more than it has to do with his creed. In every generation from the time this Government was founded men of foreign birth have stood in the very foremost rank of good citizenship, and that not merely in one but in every field of American activity; while to try to draw a distinction between the man whose parents came to this country and the man whose ancestors came to it several generations back is a mere absurdity. Good Americanism is a matter of heart, of conscience, of lofty aspiration, of sound common sense, but not of birthplace or of creed. The medal of honor, the highest prize to be won by those who serve in the army and the navy of the United States, decorates men born here, and it also decorates men born in Great Britain and Ireland, in Germany, in Scandinavia, in France, and doubtless in other countries also. In the field of statesmanship, in the field of business, in the field of philanthropic endeavor, it is equally true that among the men of whom we are most proud as Americans no distinction whatever can be drawn between those who themselves or their parents came over in sailing ship or steamer from across the water and those whose ancestors stepped ashore into the wooded wilderness at Plymouth or at the mouth of the Hudson, the Delaware, or the James nearly three centuries ago. No fellow citizen of ours is entitled to any peculiar regard because of the way in which he worships his Maker, or because of the birthplace of himself or his parents, nor should he be in any way discriminated against therefor. Each must stand on his worth as a man and each is entitled to be judged solely thereby.

"There is no danger of having too many immigrants of the right kind. It makes no difference from what country they come. If they are sound in body and in mind, and, above all, if they are of good



character, so that we can rest assured that their children and grandchildren will be worthy fellow citizens of our children and grandchildren, then we should welcome them with cordial hospitality. But the citizenship of this country should not be debased. It is vital that we should keep high the standard of well-being among our wage-workers, and therefore we should not admit masses of men whose standards of living and whose personal customs and habits are such that they tend to lower the level of the American wage-worker; and above all we should not admit any man of an unworthy type, any man concerning whom we can say that he will himself be a bad citizen, or that his children and grandchildren will detract from instead of adding to the sum of good citizenship of the country. Similarly we should take the greatest care about naturalization. Fraudulent naturalization, the naturalization of improper persons, is a curse to our Government; and it is the affair of every honest voter, wherever born, to see that no fraudulent voting is allowed, that no fraud in connection with naturalization is permitted.

"In the past year the cases of false, fraudulent, and improper naturalization of aliens coming to the attention of the executive branches of the Government have increased to an alarming degree. Extensive sales of forged certificates of naturalization have been discovered, as well as many cases of naturalization secured by perjury and fraud; and in addition, instances have accumulated showing that many courts issue certificates of naturalization carelessly and upon insufficient evidence.

"Under the Constitution it is in the power of Congress 'to establish a uniform rule of naturalization,' and numerous laws have from time to time been enacted for that purpose, which have been supplemented in a few States by State laws having special ap-

plication. The Federal statutes permit naturalization by any court of record in the United States having common-law jurisdiction and a seal and clerk, except the police court of the District of Columbia, and nearly all these courts exercise this important function. It results that where so many courts of such varying grades have jurisdiction, there is lack of uniformity in the rules applied in conferring naturalization. Some courts are strict and others lax. An alien who may secure naturalization in one place might be denied it in another, and the intent of the constitutional provision is in fact defeated. Furthermore, the certificates of naturalization issued by the courts differ widely in wording and appearance, and when they are brought into use in foreign countries are frequently subject to suspicion.

"There should be a comprehensive revision of the naturalization laws. The courts having power to naturalize should be definitely named by national authority; the testimony upon which naturalization may be conferred should be definitely prescribed; publication of impending naturalization applications should be required in advance of their hearing in court; the form and wording of all certificates issued should be uniform throughout the country, and the courts should be required to make returns to the Secretary of State at stated periods of all naturalizations conferred."

The establishment of the Agricultural Department, in 1889, proved to be of great value to the country. By 1904 the foreign trade had been expanded to such an extent that \$600,000,000 worth of vegetable products and \$250,000,000 worth of animals or animal products were exported annually, and the trade was still growing. The wise policy of giving Government assistance in the line of botanical and agricultural education was begun forty years earlier, when ex-

tensive grants of public land were made for the purpose of founding agricultural colleges in the several States. In 1904 these institutions had more than five thousand students. At the same time the Department of Agriculture had two thousand specialists making researches in all branches of the science of production. Not only are the effects of soils and climates upon crops studied and recorded, but by minute and patient examination the scientists are able to make themselves familiar with the character and habits of the many insects that affect valuable plants, both those that destroy and those that are necessary for fertilization. Remedies are sought and often found for the ravages of the destructive insects. Thus the most serious of these evils is the boll-weevil, which has threatened to destroy the entire cotton crop. This insect came from Central America, being accidentally introduced into Texas. But one of the Department's scientists found in Guatemala an ant that destroys the weevil. The pest of the orchards was that known as the San Jose scale; but a scientist found near the great wall in China an insect that destroys the scale, and this, being imported into the United States, is restoring the orchards to their natural health and productiveness. The orange and lemon growers have had to contend with another difficulty known as the black scale; but from South Africa has been obtained a fly that conquers this enemy. The new industry of raising figs in California could not have been successful but for the importation of a fertilizing insect from Turkey. The raising of silkworms has been tried in this country several times, but never with much success. Now, with the help of the Department in importing eggs and improved reels, together with expert operatives, it is likely to succeed. New varieties of grains, grasses, and fruits are being brought from the re-



motest corners of the earth, to be tried by our farmers and horticulturists. And this is not done at random, but with appropriate care. Among the new fruits now raised in the country are almonds, dates, and mangoes. For seeding some of the comparatively arid lands at the far West, grains were brought from countries where the rainfall is slight, and this experiment proved highly successful. The Department also guards against the importation or exportation of diseased animals, and inspects meats, etc. Crop reports are obtained from 250,000 persons, and exchanges of crop estimates are made with European countries, so that the farmers may know what to expect in the way of competition. For all this the Government spends about 10,000,000 a year, and the tendency is to make agriculture, usually one of the poorest occupations, one of the best.

Closely allied to this work was the great advance in irrigation and forestry. The Government's irrigation works, for the arid lands of the West, were placed in the charge of the most competent engineers. At the same time the plan of forest reserves on the public lands will not only preserve the supply of timber from reckless destruction but hold the rainfall for gradual spread and use through the streams. These measures will ultimately cover with comfortable homesteads the vast area that used to appear on the maps as The Great American Desert.

A new department of the Federal Government, designated as the Department of Commerce and Labor, was created by a law which the President signed on February 14, 1903. This adds another member to the Cabinet. George B. Cortelpou was the first incumbent of the new Secretaryship.

The clause in the new Constitution of Alabama which disfranchises colored men was sustained by a

decision of the United States Supreme Court, April 27, 1903.

The cities have maintained their usual steady growth, which appears to be the universal law, but for some reasons is to be deplored. Three of our largest cities have had notable events. New York, which had been confined to the island of Manhattan, was expanded into what is popularly called Greater New York. This includes Staten Island, a considerable territory north of Harlem River, Brooklyn, Long Island City, and a portion of Queens County. The five portions are called the Boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, Richmond, Queens, and the Bronx. The constantly increasing congestion of travel within the city called for additional means of rapid transit, and a subway, with four tracks, was constructed on the island of Manhattan and opened for travel late in 1904. And immediately work was begun for extending this work to Brooklyn by means of a tunnel under the East River.

Chicago, now the second city in point of population, celebrated, from September 26 to October 1, 1903, the hundredth anniversary of the first settlement on its site.

The hundredth anniversary of the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory was commemorated by a world's fair at St. Louis, in the summer of 1904. This exposition, in its main features, closely resembled the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, but was more extensive.

A reciprocity treaty with Cuba was ratified by the Cuban Senate on March 11, 1903, and by the United States Senate March 19, and a bill in accordance therewith was passed by the House of Representatives November 19. Meanwhile, July 2, Cuba ceded to the United States two naval stations and the government of the Isle of Pines. The question of con-

trol of this island, which lies off the southwestern coast of Cuba, had been in abeyance since the Spanish war.

A treaty had been negotiated between the United States and Denmark for the cession of the small islands in the West Indies that belong to the latter country; but the time for its ratification expired July 24, 1903, and so the treaty failed.

The laying of an American cable across the Pacific Ocean was completed on July 4, 1903. The route of this cable is from San Francisco to Honolulu, thence to Midway Island, which is northwest by west from the Hawaiian Islands, thence to Guam, and thence to the Philippines. The first message was sent by President Roosevelt to Governor Taft in the Philippines. Then the President sent another message to be carried around the world by cable. This occupied twelve minutes—about two thousand miles a minute.

The troublesome Mormon question, which has compelled the attention of the Government at frequent intervals for more than a half a century, came up again in Congress in December, 1904. Reed Smoot had been elected United States Senator from Utah in 1903 and admitted. The question of unseating him was raised on the charge that the Mormon Church had interfered in the elections, holding its authority over its members, in civil as well as ecclesiastical matters, to be superior to that of the National Government and laws. Men high in office in the Mormon Church were called as witnesses, and testified before the Committee on Privileges and Elections. Most of them took a defiant tone and boldly admitted that they were living in polygamous relations with plural wives and intended to continue so. Mrs. Annie Elliot, who was formerly a member of the Mormon Church, but left it in 1897, testified before the Committee. She told how she had taken what



are called the "endowments," which include obedience to the priesthood, sacrifice to the church, and oaths of vengeance. By the latter she was to "pray without ceasing that God would avenge the blood of the prophets upon this nation." She said she was told that her throat would be cut if she ever revealed any of the secrets. She also testified that every Mormon in good standing wore as an undershirt "the mystic garment," which bore symbols of body destruction as a penalty for violating the oaths; that this garment was put on in the temple and was never to be taken off. Charles H. Jackson, chairman of the State Democratic Committee of Idaho, testified that the great question in that State was the growing power of the Mormon Church and its interference in State affairs. Apostles of the Church, he said, living in Utah went into Idaho and instructed their people to vote a certain way, saying it was the revelation that they should vote so and so, and that it was the desire of the Church. Governor Morrison, a Republican, he declared, was defeated by the Mormon Church for renomination, according to the belief in Idaho. Of the twenty-one counties, six are controlled by the Mormons. The Mormon counties voted entirely for Mr. Gooding, Governor Morrison's opponents. Both are Gentiles. He also testified that the Mormon Church secures the enactment of laws financially beneficial to its leaders, and even endeavors to amend the State Constitution so as to permit the practice of polygamy. The overshadowing danger of church interference in politics had contributed to bring the Democratic and Republican parties together in making church interference the paramount issue to be fought out by all non-Mormons, regardless of party lines.

After the Federal Government had for months been collecting evidence against the packers, District

Attorney Bethea, of Chicago, in May, 1902, secured an injunction restraining the large packers of Chicago, who form what is commonly known as the "Beef Trust," from longer pursuing their monopolistic methods. In July, 1905, the Federal grand jury of Chicago indicted five of the great packing corporations, together with a number of their official employees, on the ground that they were guilty of violating the Sherman Anti-Trust and the Interstate Commerce acts, because they had combined to eliminate competition in the purchase of live stock, had conspired together to fix prices for dressed meats, and had solicited and accepted from railroads rebates on shipments of goods. Five of those indicted pleaded guilty in September and were fined.

On July 20, 1905, the New York Legislature appointed a committee headed by Senator William A. Armstrong, with Charles E. Hughes and James McKeen as counsel, for the purpose of investigating the management of the great New York life-insurance companies. This action of the Legislature was the result of a series of scandals made public through a quarrel among the officers of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of New York. The investigation brought out that the money of the policy-holders had been used recklessly by the managers of the companies for their own profit.

Through the good offices of President Roosevelt, a peace conference was arranged between the warring nations Russia and Japan. On August 9, 1905, the peace envoys met at Portsmouth, N. H., Count Sergius Witte and Baron Rosen representing Russia, Baron Jutaro Komura and Kogoro Takahira representing Japan. When, after discussion of the terms, it seemed impossible to reach an agreement, Mr. Roosevelt, with tactful directness, induced both sides to make concessions and thereby helped materially

in bringing about the termination of one of the most sanguinary wars in history.

On January 30th, 1905, the United States Supreme Court sustained and made permanent a temporary injunction against the combination known as the "Beef Trust," issued by Federal Judge Grosscup on May 20th, 1902. Attorneys for the trust contested the matter stubbornly, and were able to delay the final filing of the decision for nearly three years, but in the end the contentions of the Government that the trust was an illegal combination and liable to prosecution, were fully maintained. The decision, which was the first step in an organized warfare on combinations of this character, established the following important points:

Traffic in live stock transported from state to state is interstate commerce and persons engaged in buying and selling such live stock are engaged in interstate commerce.

The combination between dealers to suppress all competition in the purchase of live stock is an unlawful restraint of trade.

The combination between dealers to fix and maintain a uniform price in the sale of meat throughout the country is an unlawful restraint of trade.

The combination of dealers to obtain preferential railroad rates is an unlawful restraint of trade.

All combinations suppressing competition between independent dealers fall under the prohibition of the Sherman anti-trust act.

Immediately following this the Federal authorities convened a special grand jury which met in Chicago, March 20th, considered the evidence submitted by the Federal district attorney, and on July 1st returned twenty-one indictments against officials of packing companies, and five more against the corpora-



tions in which these officials were interested. The accused parties were:

Armour & Co.—J. Ogden Armour, president, Chicago; Charles W. Armour, Kansas City, president of the Armour Packing company; Thomas J. Connors, superintendent, Chicago; Samuel A. McRoberts, assistant treasurer, Chicago; Arthur Meeker, general manager, Chicago; Patrick A. Valentine, treasurer, Chicago.

Swift & Co.—Lawrence A. Carton, treasurer, Chicago; Arthur F. Evans, special counsel, Chicago; D. E. Hartwell, secretary, Chicago; B. C. McManus, special counsel, Chicago; Louis F., Edward F. and Charles H. Swift, president, vice-president and director, respectively, Chicago; A. H. Veeder, general counsel, Chicago.

Fairbanks Canning Company—Edward Morris, vice-president, Chicago; Ira A. Morris, secretary, Chicago.

Cudahy Company—Edward A. Cudahy, vice-president and general manager, Omaha.

Corporations indicted:—Armour & Co., of Illinois; Armour Packing company, organized under the laws of New Jersey, Charles W. Armour of Kansas City, president; Swift & Co., Fairbanks Canning company and the Cudahy Packing company.

Indicted for rebating—B. S. Cusey, traffic manager for Schwarzschild & Sulzberger; V. D. Skipworth and C. M. Todd, assistant traffic manager for same firm, and Samuel Weil of New York, vice-president of Schwarzschild & Sulzberger in 1903.

September 21st the four officials last named appeared before Judge J. Otis Humphrey in the United States District court in Chicago and pleaded guilty to the indictments charging them with conspiracy to accept railroad rebates. A fine of \$10,000 was

imposed upon Samuel Weil and \$5,000 upon each of the others.

This was the first organized, systematic effort made to enforce the provisions of the Sherman anti-trust act, passed by the 51st Congress and approved July 2d, 1890, a law which had lain in disuse so long that the great majority of people, and especially the manipulators of trusts, looked upon it as a dead issue. Encouraged by the attitude of the Supreme Court, however, the men charged with the administration of the law went to work in earnest and offenders were soon made to understand that they were to be relentlessly prosecuted.

March 4th Theodore Roosevelt and Charles W. Fairbanks, elected the preceding fall, were inaugurated as President and Vice-President of the United States. It is too early as yet to write impartially of the administration of Mr. Roosevelt. That it was energetic and aggressive cannot be denied; whether it was entirely to the benefit of the country as a whole is something that time alone will tell. The writer does not care to venture a set opinion either way. It would be unfair alike to himself, and to one of the strongest, most self-asserting characters that ever occupied the executive chair. The probability is that when the official acts of the Roosevelt administration are fairly weighed it will be found that there was an admixture of good and evil, the latter arising in nearly every instance from the impulsive nature of the man and his desire to bring about radical reforms with a stroke of the pen, or a verbal command, rather than by carefully considered appeals to reason.

As soon as Mr. Roosevelt took his seat as President, elected to the office as the choice of the people, and untrammelled with pledges to carry out the policies of his unfortunate predecessor, he began to give

evidence of his intention to be an active, an epoch-making executive. The 58th Congress having expired by limitation and adjourned sine die, he at once convened the Senate of the 59th Congress in special session to confirm an entirely new Panama Canal Commission, the resignations of the old members having been handed in at the request of the President. No reason was assigned for the sweeping change aside from the assertion that the old board was unwieldy and "unsatisfactory." As the new board consisted of eight members while the old had only seven the average man will be more inclined to believe in the "unsatisfactory" character of the retiring board (in the President's opinion) than in its unwieldiness.

Whatever may have been the cause of the sweeping changes made by President Roosevelt, there can be no question but that the work of construction the canal progressed more rapidly under the new management than it did under the old. Political opponents have charged that the change was dictated solely by political considerations, the desire to provide favorites with soft berths, but this is not substantiated by the actual results. Under the former board of managers, otherwise known as the Panama Canal Commission, progress was slow and desultory. There was little to show in the way of advance for the large sums of money expended, not because there were any grounds for charging fraud, but simply because everything was tied up with red tape. As soon as the new commissioners took charge fresh life was instilled into the work, and progress since then has been reasonably rapid.

At the time of the appointment of the Roosevelt commission each member received a salary of \$7,500 a year, with traveling expenses, while the chairman was allowed \$22,500, the chief engineer \$17,500 and



the governor of the canal zone \$10,000 additional, the head of each department being also furnished with a completely equipped residence free of cost.

The new board was made up of the following members:

Theodore P. Shonts, chairman.

Charles E. Magoon, governor.

John F. Wallace, chief engineer (resigned June 29).

John F. Stevens, chief engineer.

Rear-Admiral M. T. Endicott, U. S. N.

Brig.-Gen. Peter C. Hains, U. S. A., retired.

Col. Oswald H. Ernst, corps of engineers, U. S. A.  
Benjamin N. Harrod.

Consulting Engineers (not members of commission)—William H. Burr, William Barclay Parsons.

These men succeeded Rear-Admiral John G. Walker, chairman; Maj.-Gen. George W. Davis, William H. Burr, Benjamin H. Harrod, Carl Ewald Grunsky, Frank I. Hecker and William Barclay Parsons.

April 27th Andrew Carnegie donated \$10,000,000 as the nucleus of a pension fund for college professors in the United States, Canada, Newfoundland, his announced idea being that the certainty of some reasonable provision for old age would tend to improve educational work by freeing the minds of instructors from worry for the future. June 1st of the same year the Lewis and Clark Exposition was opened at Portland, Oregon, continuing until October 14th. As a demonstration of the remarkable development of the northwest since the hardy pioneers, Lewis and Clark, blazed the trail to Oregon, the exposition was a most successful one. It did not make any money for the promoters, but it did attract world-wide attention to Portland and Oregon at large, and induced the investment of large amounts of capital in farming, fruit-growing, and other enterprises.

## CHAPTER LXXXI.

1906—1907

### ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION—Continued.

Federal Indictments Against Standard Oil and Packers.—Earthquake in San Francisco.—More Trouble in Cuba.—American Intervention.—Meteoric Career of John Alexander Dowie.—Radical Changes in Panama Canal Board.—Public Utilities Law in New York.—Bribery Scandals in California.—Imprisonment of Mayor Schmitz.—Financial Panic of 1907.—Its Cause and Effect.—National Incorporation Law Urged by President.

Following up his aggressive policy for forcing corporations to comply strictly with the law President Roosevelt, on March 3d, 1906, called the attention of Congress to violations of the anti-rebate law by the Standard Oil Company. A little over five months later, on August 27th, ten indictments, containing 6,428 counts, were returned by the Federal grand jury at Chicago under the Elkins act. October 19th of the same year, the company, having also been indicted in Ohio, was found guilty in that state of violations of the Valentine anti-trust act, and about the same time proceedings were also begun in St. Louis under the Sherman act.

Such actions as were started under the Federal statutes had their origin in President Roosevelt's message to Congress, dated May 3d, and in which he said: "According to the facts developed the Standard Oil Company has benefitted enormously by secret rates, many of which were unlawful. This benefit amounts to at least \$750,000 a year. This \$750,000 represents the profit that the company obtains at the expense of the railroads; but of course the ultimate

result is that it obtains a much larger profit at the expense of the public."

In this message it was recommended that the fee to oil lands held by the government should be retained by the government; that railroads should be permitted to protect themselves from the great corporations and that the interstate-commerce commission should examine the affairs of a railroad as thoroughly as bank examiners examine banks. The President also announced in the message that the department of justice would institute proceedings in certain of the cases reported upon by the commissioner of corporations.

In a previous message, sent to Congress in March, 1906, President Roosevelt, in treating of the railway rate law, said:

"The present Congress has taken long strides in the direction of securing proper supervision and control by the national government over corporations engaged in interstate business—and the enormous majority of corporations of any size are engaged in interstate business. The passage of the railway-rate bill, and only to a less degree the passage of the pure-food bill, and the provision for increasing and rendering more effective national control over the beef-packing industry, mark an important advance in the proper direction. In the short session it will perhaps be difficult to do much further along this line, and it may be best to wait until the laws have been in operation for a number of months before endeavoring to increase their scope, because only operation will show with exactness their merits and their shortcomings and thus give opportunity to define what further remedial legislation is needed. Yet in my judgment it will in the end be advisable in connection with the packing-house inspection law to provide for putting a date on the label and for charg-



ing the cost of inspection to the packers. All these laws have already justified their enactment.

"The interstate-commerce law, for instance, has rather amusingly falsified the predictions both of those who asserted that it would ruin the railroads and of those who asserted that it did not go far enough and would accomplish nothing. During the last five months the railroads have shown increased earnings and some of them unusual dividends, while during the same period the mere taking effect of the law has produced an unprecedented, a hitherto unheard of, number of voluntary reductions in freights and fares by the railroads. Since the founding of the commission there has never been a time of equal length in which anything like so many reduced tariffs have been put into effect. On August 27th, for instance, two days before the new law went into effect, the commission received notices of over 5,000 separate tariffs which represented reductions from previous rates.

"It must not be supposed, however, that with the passage of these laws it will be possible to stop progress along the line of increasing the power of the national government over the use of capital in interstate-commerce. For example, there will ultimately be need of enlarging the powers of the interstate-commerce commission along several different lines, so as to give it a larger and more efficient control over the railroads.

"It can not too often be repeated that experience has conclusively shown the impossibility of securing by the actions of nearly half a hundred different state legislatures anything but ineffective chaos in the way of dealing with the great corporations which do not operate exclusively within the limits of any one state. In some method, whether by a national license law or in other fashion, we must exercise, and

that at an early date, a far more complete control than at present over these great corporations—a control that will among other things prevent the evils of excessive overcapitalization, and that will compel the disclosure by each big corporation of its stockholders and of its properties and business, whether owned directly or through subsidiary or affiliated corporations. This will tend to put a stop to the securing of inordinate profits by favored individuals at the expense whether of the general public, the stockholders or the wage workers. Our effort should be not so much to prevent consolidation as such, but so to supervise and control it as to see that it results in no harm to the people.

“The reactionary or ultraconservative apologists for the misuse of wealth assail the effort to secure such control as a step toward socialism. As a matter of fact it is these reactionaries and ultraconservatives who are themselves most potent in increasing socialistic feeling. One of the most efficient methods of averting the consequences of a dangerous agitation, which is 80 per cent wrong, is to remedy the 20 per cent of evil as to which the agitation is well founded. The best way to avert the very undesirable move for the governmental ownership of railways is to secure by the government on behalf of the people as a whole such adequate control and regulation of the great interstate common carriers as will do away with the evils which give rise to the agitation against them.

“So the proper antidote to the dangerous and wicked agitation against the men of wealth as such is to secure by proper legislation and executive action the abolition of the grave abuses which actually do obtain in connection with the business use of wealth under our present system—or rather no system—of failure to exercise any adequate control at all. Some

persons speak as if the exercise of such governmental control would do away with the freedom of individual initiative and dwarf individual effort. This is not a fact. It would be a veritable calamity to fail to put a premium upon individual initiative, individual capacity and effort; upon the energy, character and foresight which it is so important to encourage in the individual. But as a matter of fact the deadening and degrading effect of pure socialism, and especially of its extreme form, communism, and the destruction of individual character which they would bring about, are in part achieved by the wholly unregulated competition which results in a single individual or corporation rising at the expense of all others until his or its rise effectually checks all competition and reduces former competitors to a position of utter inferiority and subordination.

"In enacting and enforcing such legislation as this Congress already has to its credit, we are working on a coherent plan with the steady endeavor to secure the needed reform by the joint action of the moderate men, the plain men who do not wish anything hysterical or dangerous, but who do intend to deal in resolute common-sense fashion with the real and great evils of the present system. The reactionaries and the violent extremists show symptoms of joining hands against us. Both assert, for instance, that if logical, we should go to government ownership of railroads and the like; the reactionaries because on such an issue they think the people would stand with them, while the extremists care rather to preach discontent and agitation than to achieve solid results. As a matter of fact, our position is as remote from that of the Bourbon reactionary as from that of the impracticable or sinister visionary. We hold that the government should not conduct the business of the nation, but that it should exercise such supervi-



sion as will insure its being conducted in the interest of the nation. Our aim is, so far as may be, to secure for all decent, hard-working men equality of opportunity and equality of burden.

"The actual working of our laws has shown that the effort to prohibit all combination, good or bad, is noxious where it is not ineffective. Combination of capital like combination of labor is a necessary element of our present industrial system. It is not possible completely to prevent it; and if it were possible, such complete prevention would do damage to the body politic. What we need is not vainly to try to prevent all combination, but to secure such rigorous and adequate control and supervision of the combinations as to prevent their injuring the public, or existing in such form as inevitably to threaten injury—for the mere fact that a combination has secured practically complete control of a necessary of life would under any circumstances show that such combination was to be presumed to be adverse to the public interest.

"It is unfortunate that our present laws should forbid all combinations, instead of sharply discriminating between those combinations, which do good and those combinations which do evil. Rebates, for instance, are as often due to the pressure of big shippers (as was shown in the investigation of the Standard Oil Company and as has been shown since by the investigation of the tobacco and sugar trusts) as to the initiative of big railroads. Often railroads would like to combine for the purpose of preventing a big shipper from maintaining improper advantages at the expense of small shippers and of the general public. Such a combination, instead of being forbidden by law, should be favored. In other words, it should be permitted to railroads to make agreements, provided these agreements were sanctioned by the in-

terstate-commerce commission and were published. With these two conditions complied with it is impossible to see what harm such a combination could do to the public at large.

"It is a public evil to have on the statute books a law incapable of full enforcement because both judges and juries realize that its full enforcement would destroy the business of the country; for the result is to make decent railroad men violators of the law against their will and to put a premium on the behavior of the wilful wrong-doers. Such a result in turn tends to throw the decent man and the wilful wrongdoer into close association and in the end to drag down the former to the latter's level; for the man who becomes a lawbreaker in one way unhappily tends to lose all respect for law and to be willing to break it in many ways.

"No more scathing condemnation could be visited upon a law than is contained in the words of the interstate-commerce commission when, in commenting upon the fact that the numerous joint traffic associations do technically violate the law, they say: 'The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Trans-Missouri case and the Joint Traffic Association case has produced no practical effect upon the railway operations of the country. Such associations, in fact, exist now as they did before these decisions and with the same general effect. In justice to all parties we ought probably to add that it is difficult to see how our interstate railways could be operated with due regard to the interest of the shipper and the railway without concerted action of the kind afforded through these associations.'

"This means that the law as construed by the Supreme Court is such that the business of the country can not be conducted without breaking it. I recommend that you give careful and early consideration

to this subject and if you find the opinion of the interstate-commerce commission justified that you amend the law so as to obviate the evil disclosed."

In the same message President Roosevelt took advanced grounds for the adoption of an income and inheritance tax. In advocating this he said:

"The question of taxation is difficult in any country, but it is especially difficult in ours with its federal system of government. Some taxes should on every ground be levied in a small district for use in that district. Thus the taxation of real estate is peculiarly one for the immediate locality in which the real estate is found. Again, there is no more legitimate tax for any state than a tax on the franchises conferred by that state upon street railroads and similar corporations which operate wholly within the state boundaries, sometimes in one and sometimes in several municipalities or other minor divisions of the state. But there are many kinds of taxes which can only be levied by the general government so as to produce the best results, because, among other reasons, the attempt to impose them in one particular state too often results merely in driving the corporation or individual affected to some other locality or other state.

"The national government has long derived its chief revenue from a tariff on imports and from an internal or excise tax. In addition to these there is every reason why, when next our system of taxation is revised, the national government should impose a graduated inheritance tax and, if possible, a graduated income tax. The man of great wealth owes a peculiar obligation to the state, because he derives special advantages from the mere existence of government. Not only should he recognize this obligation in the way he leads his daily life and in the way he earns and spends his money, but it should also be



recognized by the way in which he pays for the protection the state gives him. On the one hand it is desirable that he should assume his full and proper share of the burden of taxation; on the other hand, it is quite as necessary that in this kind of taxation, where the men who vote the tax pay but little of it, there should be clear recognition of the danger of inaugurating any such system save in a spirit of entire justice and moderation.

"Whenever we as a people undertake to remodel our taxation system along the lines suggested we must make it clear beyond peradventure that our aim is to distribute the burden of supporting the government more equitably than at present; that we intend to treat rich man and poor man on a basis of absolute equality and that we regard it as equally fatal to true democracy to do or permit injustice to the one as to do or permit injustice to the other.

"I am well aware that such a subject as this needs long and careful study in order that the people may become familiar with what is proposed to be done, may clearly see the necessity of proceeding with wisdom and self-restraint, and may make up their minds just how far they are willing to go in the matter; while only trained legislators can work out the project in necessary detail. But I feel that in the near future our national legislators should enact a law providing for a gradual inheritance tax by which a steadily increasing rate of duty should be put upon all moneys or other valuables coming by gift, bequest or devise to any individual or corporation. It may be well to make the tax heavy in proportion as the individual benefited is remote of kin. In any event, in my judgment the pro rata of the tax should increase very heavily with the increase of the amount left to any one individual after a certain point has been reached.

"It is most desirable to encourage thrift and ambition, and a potent source of thrift and ambition is the desire on the part of the breadwinner to leave his children well off. This object can be attained by making the tax very small on moderate amounts of property left; because the prime object should be to put a constantly increasing burden on the inheritance of those swollen fortunes which it is certainly of no benefit to this country to perpetuate.

"There can be no question of the ethical propriety of the government thus determining the conditions upon which any gift or inheritance should be received. Exactly how far the inheritance tax would, as an incident, have the effect of limiting the transmission by devise or gift of the enormous fortunes in question it is not necessary at present to discuss. It is wise that progress in this direction should be gradual. At first a permanent national inheritance tax, while it might be more substantial than any such tax has hitherto been, need not approximate, either in amount or in the extent of the increase by graduation, to what such a tax should ultimately be.

"This species of tax has again and again been imposed, although only temporarily, by the national government. It was first imposed by the act of July 6, 1797, when the makers of the constitution were alive and at the head of affairs. It was a graduated tax; though small in amount, the rate was increased with the amount left to any individual, exceptions being made in the case of certain close kin. A similar tax was again imposed by the act of July 1, 1862; a minimum sum of \$1,000 in personal property being excepted from taxation, the tax then becoming progressive according to the remoteness of kin. The war-revenue act of June 13, 1898, provided for an inheritance tax on any sum exceeding the value of \$10,000, the rate of the tax increasing both in accord-

ance with the amounts left and in accordance with the legatee's remoteness of kin. The Supreme Court has held that the succession tax imposed at the time of the civil war was not a direct tax, but an impost or excise which was both constitutional and valid. More recently the court, in an opinion delivered by Mr. Justice White, which contained an exceedingly able and elaborate discussion of the powers of the Congress to impose death duties, sustained the constitutionality of the inheritance-tax feature of the war-revenue act of 1898.

"In its incidents and apart from the main purpose of raising revenue, an income tax stands on an entirely different footing from an inheritance tax, because it involves no question of the perpetuation of fortunes swollen to an unhealthy size. The question is in its essence a question of the proper adjustment of burdens to benefits. As the law now stands it is undoubtedly difficult to devise a national income tax which shall be constitutional. But whether it is absolutely impossible is another question; and if possible it is most certainly desirable. The first purely income-tax law was passed by the Congress in 1861, but the most important law dealing with the subject was that of 1894. This the court held to be unconstitutional.

"The question is undoubtedly very intricate, delicate and troublesome. The decision of the court was only reached by one majority. It is the law of the land and of course is accepted as such and loyally obeyed by all good citizens. Nevertheless, the hesitation evidently felt by the court as a whole is coming to a conclusion, when considered together with the previous decisions on the subject, may perhaps indicate the possibility of devising a constitutional income-tax law which shall substantially accomplish the results aimed at. The difficulty of amending the



constitution is so great that only real necessity can justify a resort thereto. Every effort should be made in dealing with this subject, as with the subject of the proper control by the national government over the use of corporate wealth in interstate business, to devise legislation which without such action shall attain the desired end; but if this fails there will ultimately be no alternative to a constitutional amendment."

The first notable convictions under the anti-rebate law were obtained in the United States district court at Kansas City, Mo., on June 22d before Judge McPherson, the defendants being the Armour, Swift, Morris, and Cudahy Packing Companies, all of which were found guilty of obtaining from the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad a rebate of 12 cents per 100 pounds on shipments of beef products from Kansas City to New York for export. Each of the defendants, and the railway company, were fined \$15,000, and took an appeal.

Without preliminary warning beyond a few tremors of the earth which passed unnoticed, the city of San Francisco, Calif., was visited early on the morning of April 18th (5:15 o'clock) by an earthquake, the most disastrous disturbance of the kind that has ever occurred on the North American continent. The first shock was followed by others for a period of several days the results of which were that the business district of the city was completely destroyed. Water mains, gas mains, and electric-light conduits were disrupted by the main quake, and to add to the confusion fire, which there was no means of subduing, broke out about 7 a. m., raging for two days, and making complete the wreck started by the earthquake. This fire swept over a territory nearly four square miles in area, wiping out the mansions on Nob Hill, such buildings as had been left standing

in the region south of Market street, the business section, the Mission, and the Hayes Valley residence district, and the famous Chinese settlement. Through the quake and subsequent fire 452 lives were lost, 1,500 people injured, and 265,000 left homeless. The property loss has been estimated at \$250,000,000, of which \$132,823,067 fell on the insurance companies. Buildings to the number of 60,000, covering an area of 453 blocks, were destroyed. Congress at once appropriated \$2,500,000 for the relief of the destitute, and private and public subscriptions to the amount of \$11,000,000 were also secured.

Some idea of the completeness of the disaster may be had from the fact that the estimated population at the time was 360,000, and of this number fully two-thirds were, temporarily at least, deprived of their homes, a very large portion being compelled to seek shelter in army tents in the public parks and similar places. Federal and state troops, under command of Brigadier General Funston, took charge of the city, doing police duty to preserve order, fighting the fire, caring for the injured, and distributing rations. Thousands of people in addition to losing their homes, were left absolutely without food or clothing, and there was a great deal of unavoidable suffering until the relief machinery could be put in operation.

News of the disaster had an instantaneous effect on stock values on the New York exchange, the shrinkage being estimated at fully \$900,000,000. Strong, active securities suffered with the weak ones, the declines in one day ranging from 6 to 54 points. One reason for this undoubtedly was the terrific losses which insurance companies were called upon to meet, they being in most instances forced to sacrifice good-paying securities in order to raise cash with which to liquidate the demands upon them.

To the credit of the insurance fraternity at large it can be said that, despite the enormous losses, there was little attempt to evade responsibility, and the large majority of the companies paid promptly and in full. In a few instances efforts were made to evade losses on the plea that there was no liability for damage by earthquake, and in one case (the Traders of Illinois) repudiation was out-right, the concern being placed in the hands of a receiver. Official figures show that the total amount of insurance money involved in the earthquake and fire was \$222,836,307, and that \$132,823,067 was actually paid out.

The year 1906 was one of severe meteorological disturbances all over the world. Just previous to the San Francisco earthquake there was a violent eruption at Mount Vesuvius, beginning about the middle of March and continuing until April 15th. As the disturbance at San Francisco occurred afterward (April 18th) students of seismology have maintained that there was a direct connection between the two events. Considerable force is given to this assertion by the fact that the unusually severe earthquakes of 1906 seem to have occurred in a sort of chain. Beginning March 17th we find one of great violence wrecking the island of Formosa. Next comes the terrible eruption of Mount Vesuvius, and then the San Francisco horror.

Aside from earthquakes 1906 was productive of many fierce storms, especially along the gulf coast. For two days, September 25th and 27th, hurricanes raged from Pensacola, Florida, to New Orleans, La., and Mobile, Ala., extending to a number of minor points. At Pensacola seventy-five people lost their lives, and \$5,000,000 worth of property was destroyed. At Mobile the loss of human life was between 75 and 100, and the property loss \$4,000,000. About three weeks later, October 17th and 18th, another



disastrous hurricane swept the southeastern coast of Florida, reaching to Cuba, and doing an immense amount of damage. Taken as a whole the meteorological disturbances of 1906 (which appear to have been world wide) may be set down as being unequaled in any previous year in the history of the United States.

Ever since the independence of Cuba was recognized, and the Cuban government established in 1901, there had been predictions that the native administration could not endure, and that the United States would be compelled to reassert authority over the island in order to prevent bloodshed and ruin. By August and September, 1906, the revolt of the Liberals against President Palma had assumed the form of open, armed conflict. Armed insurrectors waged a guerrilla warfare, and almost the whole of the island, with the exception of the city of Havana, was overrun by the insurgents. President Roosevelt warned the Cuban minister to the United States, Senor Quesada, that unless the armed revolt was put down, and differences amicably adjusted, it would be the duty of the United States to interfere and afford protection to life and property.

This was at once seized upon by the opponents of President Roosevelt as an excuse for asserting that the actual Rooseveltian policy was to annex Cuba under the guise of interference as a peacemaker, and the anti-Roosevelt press made vigorous opposition to the plan. Undeterred by the criticisms of his opponents, President Roosevelt, acting promptly on the transmission of his letter of warning to Senor Quesada, at once sent Secretary of War Wm. H. Taft, and Robert Bacon, Assistant Secretary of State, to Havana to confer with the Cuban authorities and attempt to secure a settlement of the troubles. War-

ships had preceded them, and a force of marines were quartered in Havana.

As the result of conferences between the insurgent leaders, members of the Palma cabinet, and the representatives of the United States, a truce was declared and terms of settlement of the trouble discussed. President Palma did not take kindly to the proposed terms, denouncing them as humiliating in the extreme. Being unable to obtain a modification, President Palma and his cabinet resigned on September 29th, and the Cuban Congress was dissolved the same day. This precipitated a crisis, as the country was left without government of any kind. In this emergency Secretary Taft acted promptly. He at once assumed charge in the name of the United States, this action giving further credence to the report that the authorities at Washington were pursuing well-laid plans to force the annexation of the island. In his proclamation taking charge of affairs, which was issued at Havana, on September 29th, immediately on the announcement of President Palma's resignation, Secretary Taft said:

"To the people of Cuba: The failure of Congress to act on the irrevocable resignation of the President of the republic of Cuba or to elect a successor leaves the country without a government at a time when great disorder prevails and requires that, pursuant to the request of Mr. Palma, the necessary steps be taken in the name and by the authority of the President of the United States to restore order and protect life and property in the island of Cuba and the islands and keys adjacent thereto, and for this purpose to establish therein a provisional government.

"The provisional government hereby established will be maintained only long enough to restore order, peace and public confidence, by direction of and in the name of the President of the United States, and

then to hold such elections as may be necessary to determine on those persons upon whom the permanent government of the republic should be devolved.

"In so far as is consistent with the nature of a provisional government established under the authority of the United States this will be a Cuban government, conforming with the constitution of Cuba. The Cuban flag will be hoisted as usual over the government buildings of the island; all the executive departments and provincial and municipal governments, including that of the city of Havana, will continue to be administered as under the Cuban republic; the courts will continue to administer justice and all the laws not in their nature inapplicable by reason of the temporary and emergent character of the government will be in force."

The wording of the proclamation did much to allay doubt and suspicions as to the attitude and intentions of the United States government. It was made plain that American interference came at the request of the retiring president, Senor Palma, and that it was undertaken with the distinct pledge that American occupation and control would last only until order and peace had been restored, and a permanent government established. This pledge was kept.

October 3d President Roosevelt appointed Charles E. Magoon provisional governor, and ten days later Secretaries Taft and Bacon sailed for home, having accomplished their work with little or no friction and in a surprisingly short time. General J. F. Bell, chief of staff of the regular army, was placed in command of a force of 6,000 men, known as the "Army of Cuban Pacification." In the meantime the main bodies of the insurgents gave up their arms, and a general amnesty proclamation was issued covering all except criminal acts. Guerrilla warfare, however, continued on a small, but annoying, scale, and it was



not until January 28th, 1909, that the United States authorities were justified in withdrawing from the management of the island's affairs and turning the government over to the Cubans themselves.

Oklahoma, a new state formed by the consolidation of the territories of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, was admitted to the Union in 1906. The population of the new state was then given as 1,414,177, and it had an area of 70,430 square miles. By the terms of admission it has two senators, five congressmen, and seven electoral votes. The capital is to remain at Guthrie until 1913, when the legislature will decide its future location. Oklahoma City, the largest town in the state (population 32,452) will probably be the main contender for capitol honors.

Early in 1907 the world was astonished by the contribution of \$32,000,000 by John D. Rockefeller to the cause of higher education, the largest amount ever given to any cause by an individual at one time. This vast sum of money, represented by high-class interest bearing securities, was placed in charge of the General Education Board, New York city, the income to be used for advancing the cause of education in such manner as might be considered best. This gift brought the total amount of Mr. Rockefeller's donations up to that time to \$85,656,988. About this time there was considerable comment as to the amount of the Rockefeller wealth, it being variously estimated at from \$500,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000, with equally preposterous estimates as to the yearly income. Frederick T. Gates, the business representative of John D. Rockefeller, made an official statement to the following effect:

"The facts are that Mr. Rockefeller has at various times himself authorized the statement that his fortune cannot exceed \$250,000,000 or \$300,000,000; furthermore his income, instead of being \$100,000,-

000 a year as has been asserted, cannot in his most prosperous year have exceeded \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000. Mr. Rockefeller's holdings of Standard Oil stock are under 30 per cent."

This statement, made as regarding the Rockefeller wealth in February, 1906, was undeniably accurate at that time, but whether the estate has gained or shrunk in the succeeding years is a matter of conjecture. Despite additional large gifts made by Mr. Rockefeller since 1907 it is probable that there has been a material increase in the size of the fortune, and, resultantly, in the income as well, but until another authorized statement is made the general public will not know definitely.

John Alexander Dowie, so-called divine healer and evangelist, died March 9th, 1907, closing a most remarkable career. He was born in England in 1847, and went to Australia in 1878, coming to the United States in 1888, when he began preaching in the streets of Chicago, claiming to have power to heal the sick, the lame, and others similarly afflicted. But little is known about the man previous to his advent in Chicago, except that he was virtually penniless. In Chicago, however, he secured a large following and appeared to have absolute control over those who professed belief in him. He was rough, uncouth, and dictatorial in manner, but thousands paid homage to him, and accepted his commands without question. In a comparatively short time Dowie controlled so much capital that, in 1890, he founded Zion City 42 miles north of Chicago, where he started numerous industries, and established a thriving, prosperous community. In the height of his fame Zion City had a population of fully 10,000, and the property was valued at \$21,000,000.

Matters progressed finely until 1905, the town increasing in population and wealth, and the residents

being prosperous and happy, notwithstanding the fact that it was a one-man rule. What Dowie said was law in Zion City. Its inhabitants could not smoke or use tobacco in any form, drink of all kinds (strong drink) was tabooed, the flesh of hogs as food was interdicted, and there were numberless other restrictions which many people would look upon as galling and unbearable. But the Dowieites did not remonstrate. In fact they appeared to consider Dowie as a sort of heavenly and earthly father combined.

His illness assumed such form that he was incapacitated, so far as the actual administration of affairs was concerned, and his followers began to quarrel among themselves as to who should take charge of the property. The matter got into the courts and receivers were appointed for several of the industrial works. Following the death of Dowie control passed into the hands of Wilbur Glenn Voliva, formerly one of his most trusted lieutenants, and a long period of litigation and rancorous recrimination ensued, the substantial structure which Dowie had reared being seriously shattered.

It is doubtful if, in all the history of the world aside from that of the Mormon church, a counterpart can be found for the meteoric career of John Alexander Dowie. Coming to Chicago unknown and unheralded, save by himself, without money or education, and of a stern, forbidding, almost repulsive mold, in the short space of seven years he gathered faithful adherents by the thousands and accumulated a property conservatively estimated at \$21,000,000. He was denounced and ridiculed by the press, scoffed at by preachers, and treated with contumely by the rabble. He stormed back at and loudly berated those who opposed him, ignoring the old saying that "a soft answer turneth away wrath," and cracked the



lash of discipline over the backs of his followers like a slave driver of ante-bellum days. Despite it all he prospered.

Another event occurring early in 1907 was a second sweeping change in the management of the Panama canal. Theodore P. Shonts, who was named as chairman in April, 1905, resigned March 4th, 1907, giving no explanation of his withdrawal from the work except his desire to look after private affairs. Just previous to this, on February 26th, 1907, John F. Stevens, the chief engineer, had resigned on a similar plea, the President appointing Major George W. Goethals, of the United States army, as his successor. The appointment of Major Goethals coming so quickly, and without previous announcement, on the withdrawal of Mr. Stevens, led to the report that President Roosevelt, again dissatisfied with the progress of the work, had called for Stevens' resignation and had already selected Goethals as his successor before the resignation was handed in. Those who adhered to this view contended that the withdrawal of Mr. Shonts was influenced by the loss of Mr. Stevens, and the further fact that the position had been filled without consulting him. There are no official records to sustain this opinion, and none of the parties directly concerned would talk for publication, but it was the generally accepted version.

The new board was composed of two civilians, four army officers, and one navy attache, as follows:

Lieut.-Col. George W. Goethals, U. S. A., chairman and chief engineer.

Maj. David Du B. Gaillard, U. S. A., corps of engineers.

Maj. William L. Sibert, U. S. A., corps of engineers.

Col. William C. Gorgas, U. S. A., medical department.

Harry H. Rousseau, U. S. N., civil engineer.

Jackson Smith, civilian.

Joseph C. S. Blackburn, civilian.

Under the Shonts commission the members of the board each received a salary of \$7,500 a year with traveling expenses, and extra allowances of \$22,500 to the chairman, \$17,000 to the chief engineer, and \$10,000 to the governor of the canal zone, making the yearly outlay for administration, exclusive of traveling charges, \$125,000. When the Goethals board was appointed there was a readjustment of salaries, the extra allowances being cut off and the direct pay increased to \$15,000 a year for the chairman, \$14,000 for Messrs. Gaillard, Siebert and Rousseau, (engineers), and \$10,000 each for Messrs. Gorgas, Smith and Blackburn, a total of \$87,000.

Major Goethals brought to the work the practical wisdom and untiring energy of a thoroughly trained army officer, and under his direction it has since progressed most favorably. By July 31, 1910, a total of 113,135,206 cubic yards of earth and rock had been excavated at a cost of \$130,397,228, exclusive of \$40,000,000 paid to the French company which started the work, this amount being in settlement of their property rights, such as they were. There has been much adverse criticism of the Federal authorities for paying over this immense sum of money, especially as the property acquired was of little real value, consisting mainly of partially constructed sections of the canal which have since been entirely rebuilt, and the charter rights of the original (the French) company. It must be conceded that the material property was of no worth, but there was a grave question, involving international rights, concerning the charter, and the political control of the canal zone, and to decide these amicably it was considered best to pay the \$40,000,000, and avoid annoying complica-

tions which would greatly delay, and might stop indefinitely, the progress of the work.

Up to the 1st of April, 1907, only 5,575,000 cubic yards had been excavated under American supervision since the work was undertaken by the Federal government in 1904. When Major Goethals and the new board took charge there was a wonderful increase in energy and results, the excavations for the first seven months of 1907 amounting to 7,039,583 cubic yards, or over 1,500,000 more than had been dug in the preceding three years, and the work was being pushed at the rate of 1,000,000 cubic yards a month.

Trial on the indictments found against the Standard Oil Company, August 27th, 1906, was begun in the Federal court before Judge Landis, March 4th, 1907. On April 13th, after a stubbornly contested hearing, the jury returned a verdict of guilty on 1,462 of the 1,903 counts in the indictment. Motions for a new trial and rehearing were overruled, and on August 3d of the same year, Judge Landis imposed a fine of \$29,240,000, the maximum penalty under the law, the largest ever recorded in any court. This fine was later set aside by the United States Court of Appeals on the ground that it was excessive and unwarranted by the facts.

In 1907 the people of New York state adopted a Public Utilities act for the regulation and control of all public utilities. It was the outcome of a general demand that something should be done to check the growing rapacity and greed of corporations engaged in a public service, and at the same time to protect these corporations against unjust competition, unreasonable public clamor, and attempts at blackmail. Under this act the state is divided into two districts, one embracing the city of New York and the second covering the rest of the state. The affairs of each



district are administered by a commission appointed by the governor, each commission consisting of five members who have absolute control over all public utility corporations such as steam railways, street railways, and common carriers of all kinds, gas and electric light, and similar companies.

The commissions not only have control of the corporations, but of all individuals engaged in operating them, taking charge, so far as supervision is concerned, of the service, rates, physical condition of property, stock and bond issues, and the right to obtain charters. The law is explicit in forbidding certain acts, and in the insistence of others, the commissions having power to enforce their rulings by the infliction of fines, \$5,000 being the maximum. Among the things prohibited is the issuance of free passes, discrimination in rates, payment of rebates or gratuities of any kind, unreasonable preference to shippers or passengers, or patrons, solicitation of favors of any kind, monetary or otherwise, from any corporation, etc. It is made mandatory that all corporations shall issue public schedules of rates, maintain effective service, and do all other things necessary to secure to the people an equitable and impartial use of the privileges conferred by charter.

The merging, leasing, transfer, or assignment of any franchise of a common carrier without the consent and approval of the commission is void. So also is the acquirement, by purchase or otherwise, of the stock of any other public-utility corporation, and in no event may such acquirement amount to more than 10 per cent of the total capital stock of the company thus acquired.

Issuance of stock, bonds, notes, or other evidence of indebtedness, must be authorized by the commission, and to secure the necessary authority the commission must be satisfied that the use of the money

to be thus obtained is reasonably required for the legitimate operation of the corporation.

Franchises, or charters, for the operation of a public utility of any kind, must be obtained from the commission, and this body is made the sole judge as to the bona fides of the enterprise and its promoters, and has the power to amend the terms of incorporation by enlarging or contracting them, or may decline to grant a franchise if convinced that the enterprise is inimicable to the public good.

Wisconsin has a similar law, these two states being to date the only ones to grapple with the corporation problem, so far as it affects public utilities, in an organized, systematic manner.

The principle that a common carrier engaged in the transportation of passengers must furnish every fare payer with a seat, was broadly laid down by the court of appeals in Georgia, in 1907. This decision was made in the case of *Linden vs. Georgia Electric & Railway Company of Atlanta*. The company had been in the custom of crowding its cars to the limit, regardless of seating capacity. In handing down the decision the court ruled that each fare payer was entitled to a seat, and that failure by the company to provide such seat was just cause for damages.

One of the most sensational events of 1907, in the criminal line, was the conviction, on July 8th, of Eugene E. Schmitz, for extortion in his official capacity as mayor of San Francisco. He was sent to the state's prison for five years. Schmitz was serving his third term as mayor. He was first elected in 1901, on the labor-union ticket, largely through the aid of Abraham Ruef, an attorney. He was re-elected in 1903 and 1905. In the meantime Ruef had become a power in municipal affairs, and it was commonly reported that he was selling his influence with the mayor under the guise of legal service to his

clients. In 1906 conditions had grown so bad that a committee of citizens headed by Rudolph Spreckels, James D. Phelan, William J. Langdon, and others, was organized to prosecute the offenders. Langdon was district attorney, having been elected on the same ticket with Schmitz. Ruef feared him, secured his removal from office, and had himself appointed to the post. This, he thought, rendered himself and Mayor Schmitz immune from prosecution.

The citizens committee, however, proceeded energetically. It retained the legal services of Francis J. Heney, who had done good work for the government in the Oregon land fraud cases, and also those of William J. Burns, a secret-service agent for the Federal government. Through the efforts of Heney and Burns a lot of incriminatory evidence was secured. The first step in the legal proceedings was to have the courts set aside the removal of Langdon. The latter, reinstated in office, appointed Heney as his assistant, and the war to punish the offenders was begun. Ruef was indicted, charged with extorting money from disreputable places for protection. He was arraigned for trial, May 14th, pleaded guilty, and exposed the criminal operations of Mayor Schmitz and others. On the strength of his confession a number of prominent men were indicted, and San Francisco had the greatest criminal sensation in its history.

Among the men named by Ruef as guilty of illegal acts were Mayor Schmitz, Patrick Callahan, president of the United Railways company; Thornwall Mullaly, his assistant; Tirey L. Ford and W. M. Abbott, counsel for the company, and Abraham Ruef for bribery in the matter of the overhead trolley franchise and for receiving bribes in the matter of fixing the gas rate at 85 cents instead of 75 cents; President Louis Glass of the Pacific States Telephone



company; Theodore V. Halsey, agent of that company; Frank G. Drum, gas company official; Eugen De Sabla, president of power company; John Marin, gas company official; G. H. Umbesen and W. L. Brobeck of the Parkside Transit company.

Mayor Schmitz was convicted, as already stated. On the trial it was shown that the vicious element in San Francisco, and many who posed as respectable citizens, were under forced tribute to Schmitz and Ruef. In many instances, particularly in the operation of disorderly houses without police molestation, there was a set scale of payment, the amount depending upon the location and business importance of the establishment. Despite this the district court of appeals the following year set aside the judgment in the case of Mayor Schmitz on the ground that the offense was not a crime. This had the effect of invalidating the other indictments against Schmitz, and also those against Ruef, thus rendering void the plea of guilty made by the latter. This resulted in the whole structure of the prosecution falling to the ground.

In the meantime, however, notwithstanding the escape of the guilty parties, the respectable citizens of San Francisco had won a notable moral victory. They had established the fact that official graft existed, had named beyond power of successful contradiction, the men who profited by it, and had demonstrated in an incontrovertible manner that men high in the business activities of the city were guilty of bribery. San Francisco was purged of the offenders so far as further opportunity for wrong doing is concerned.

During the summer and fall of 1907 there was a serious financial depression throughout the United States, culminating in October with the suspension of the New York firm of Otto Heinze & Co., which

had been attempting to corner the copper market, and involving in like manner a number of important banks. Opinions differ as to the cause of the panic. Some wise men assert that it was deliberately brought about for the purpose of forcing out of business a number of objectionable concerns, and others that it was the natural result of over-speculation, doubtful loans on inadequate securities, and a general feeling of distrust, as well as the wide-spread knowledge that the amount of currency in circulation was wholly insufficient.

Whatever may have been the cause the best financial institutions in the country were unable to honor in full the demands made upon them and resorted to the expedient of issuing clearing-house certificates in place of actual cash. Fortunately these certificates were generally accepted without serious objection by the people and passed current as real money. They were taken at stores, on street cars, and railway trains, the receivers knowing that in time they would be redeemed at full face value. This served to relieve the stringency, and in a comparatively short time the country had resumed its normal condition, thanks to the faith of the people in the stability of the government.

While the panic was at its height many distressing events took place. Following the suspension of Heinze & Co., rumors became current that many large fiduciary institutions were affected. Among these were the Mercantile National Bank, the National Bank of North America, Amsterdam National, Knickerbocker Trust Co., of New York City, First National of Brooklyn, and the Williamsburg Trust, all of which had previously enjoyed the confidence of the public to an unlimited extent. New York clearing house banks made a vain effort to stem the tide of distaster by advancing \$1,800,000 to the Mercan-

tile National, but it was only a drop in the bucket, and it was not until Secretary Cortelyou placed \$25,000,000 of government funds on deposit in New York, and the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., advanced \$25,000,000 to be loaned out on collateral, that the wave of uneasiness subsided. About the same time Secretary Cortelyou announced that the government would make cash loans to an unlimited amount of banking paper approved by the laws of Connecticut and New Jersey.

When it was realized that the Federal government proposed to stand behind the banks and prevent an extension of the panic, confidence was restored, and business slowly drifted back into normal channels. It was a terrible lesson in the evil of ill-advised speculation. For years the business of the country had been conducted on an inflated basis. Deals involving millions of dollars had been floated with approximately no real cash in sight. The day of reckoning had to come. When it was passed people began to breathe easier and exercise more judgment in conducting their financial operations.

As a result of the panic the Knickerbocker Trust Co., of New York, in which Charles W. Morse, associated with the Heinze brothers, was heavily interested, was forced to suspend, the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co., of Pittsburgh, and three allied concerns, all supposed to be among the strongest in the country, were placed in the hands of receivers, and a number of others were likewise affected. Values of securities on the various stock exchanges were badly depreciated, and fortunes of goodly size were swept away.

Reckless over-extension of credit to speculators by banks on inadequate security has been named as one of, and probably the main, cause of the stringency, and it is likely that this was one of the principal con-



tributing factors. But, about the time the trouble began there had been a lot of unfavorable rate legislation in various parts of the country which had the effect of discouraging large investors. They not only declined to put their money into new enterprises, but sold out the holdings they had. Disclosures of reprehensible methods in banking also had the effect of inducing people to keep their money hidden at home instead of depositing it. One thing is certain. Actual money suddenly disappeared in large quantities, and there was comparatively little to be had by the banks. Perhaps the men who had sold their securities on the eve of the panic at fairly good prices were not averse to seeing a sharp decline so they could buy back at much lower values.

Immediately following the panic President Roosevelt sent a remarkable message to the first session of the 6th Congress on December 3d, 1907. In it he devoted considerable space to financial matters and demanded the "prompt prosecution and punishment of reckless financiers, regardless of their power of wealth or social standing." In this message the President said, and his words are well worth remembering:

"In any large body of men there are certain to be some who are dishonest and if the conditions are such that these men prosper or commit their misdeeds with impunity their example is a very evil thing for the community. Where these men are business men of great sagacity and of temperament both unscrupulous and reckless, and where the conditions are such that they act without supervision or control and at first without effective check from public opinion they delude many innocent people into making investments or embarking in kinds of business that are really unsound. When the misdeeds of these successfully dishonest men are discovered

suffering comes not only upon them, but upon the innocent men whom they have misled. It is a painful awakening whenever it occurs; and naturally when it does occur those who suffer are apt to forget that the longer it was deferred the more painful it would be. In the effort to punish the guilty it is both wise and proper to endeavor so far as possible to minimize the distress of those who have been misled by the guilty. Yet it is not possible to refrain because of such distress from striving to put an end to the misdeeds that are the ultimate causes of the suffering and as a means to this end where possible to punish those responsible for them. There may be honest differences of opinion as to many governmental policies, but surely there can be no such differences as to the need of unflinching perseverance in the war against successful dishonesty."

The moneyed interests of the country never forgave Mr. Roosevelt for these utterances, taking them as a personal affront. Their animus was plainly shown by their subsequent course in opposing to the utmost every move made by the President, and frequently in ascribing wholly unfounded and unwarranted reasons for his official acts, with the purpose of creating a hostile public sentiment, an effort in which they were to a large degree successful.

In the same message President Roosevelt advocated a national incorporation act that would ensure Federal control of all corporations. On this subject, directly allied with the financial troubles which had just beset the country, he said:

"The effort to prohibit all combination, good or bad, is noxious where it is not ineffective. Combination of capital, like combination of labor, is a necessary element in our present industrial system. It is not possible completely to prevent it, and if it were possible such complete prevention would do damage

to the body politic. What we need is not vainly to try to prevent all combination, but to secure such rigorous and adequate control and supervision of the combinations as to prevent their injuring the public or existing in such forms as inevitably to threaten injury. \* \* \* It is unfortunate that our present laws should forbid all combinations instead of sharply discriminating between those combinations which do good and those combinations which do evil. \* \* \* Often railroads would like to combine for the purpose of preventing a big shipper from maintaining improper advantages at the expense of small shippers and of the general public. Such a combination, instead of being forbidden by law, should be favored. \* \* \*

“It is a public evil to have on the statute books a law incapable of full enforcement, because both judges and juries realize that its full enforcement would destroy the business of the country, for the result is to make decent men violators of the law against their will and to put a premium on the behavior of the willful wrongdoers. Such a result in turn tends to throw the decent man and the willful wrongdoer into close association, and in the end to drag down the former to the latter’s level, for the man who becomes a lawbreaker in one way unhappily tends to lose all respect for law and to be willing to break it in many ways. No more scratching condemnation could be visited upon a law than is contained in the words of the interstate-commerce commission when, in commenting upon the fact that the numerous joint traffic associations do technically violate the law, they say: ‘The decision of the United States Supreme court in the Trans-Missouri case and the Joint Traffic association case has produced no practical effect upon the railway operations of the country. Such associations, in fact, exist now as



they did before these decisions and with the same general effect. In justice to all parties we ought probably to add that it is difficult to see how our interstate railways could be operated with due regard to the interest of the shipper and the railway without concerted action of the kind afforded through these associations.'

"This means that the law as construed by the Supreme court is such that the business of the country cannot be conducted without breaking it.

"As I have elsewhere said: All this is substantially what I have said over and over again. Surely it ought not to be necessary to say that it in no shape or way represents any hostility to corporations as such. On the contrary, it means a frank recognition of the fact that combinations of capital, like combinations of labor, are a natural result of modern conditions and of our national development. As far as in my ability lies my endeavor is and will be to prevent abuse of power by either and to favor both so long as they do well. The aim of the national government is quite as much to favor and protect honest corporations, honest business men of wealth, as to bring to justice those individuals and corporations representing dishonest methods. Most certainly there will be no relaxation by the government authorities in the effort to get at any great railroad wrecker—any man who by clever swindling devices robs investors, oppresses wage workers and does injustice to the general public. But any such move as this is in the interest of honest railway operators, of honest corporations and of those who, when they invest their small savings in stocks and bonds, wish to be assured that these will represent money honestly expended for legitimate business purposes.

"To confer upon the national government the power for which I ask would be a check upon overcapitali-

zation and upon the clever gamblers who benefit by overcapitalization. But it alone would mean an increase in the value, an increase in the safety of the stocks and bonds of lawabiding, honestly managed railroads and would render it far easier to market their securities. I believe in proper publicity. There has been complaint of some of the investigations recently carried on, but those who complain should put the blame where it belongs—upon the misdeeds which are done in darkness—and not upon the investigations which brought them to light. The administration is responsible for turning on the light, but it is not responsible for what the light showed. I ask for full power to be given the federal government, because no single state can by legislation effectually cope with these powerful corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and, while doing them full justice, exact from them in return full justice to others. The conditions of railroad activity, the conditions of our immense interstate commerce, are such as to make the central government alone competent to exercise full supervision and control."

Influences were such, however, that despite this plain, sensible appeal Congress did nothing in the way of affording the remedy suggested by Mr. Roosevelt, and the various states, with their conflicting statutes, still retain control of corporation affairs. The effect is to largely nullify and make inoperative some of the most vital and important provisions of the anti-trust and anti-rebate laws, and to make these acts difficult of proper administration.

At the same time the President also called attention to the necessity of currency legislation that would minimize the effects of monetary panics, tariff revision, an income and inheritance tax, suppression of ultra socialistic tendencies, conservation of national resources, subsidies for American mail steam-

ers, enactment of an employers' liability act, and the strengthening of the army and navy. Of these proposed measures, as subsequent events proved, that of providing for the proper conservation of national resources aroused the most interest and was productive of the most tangible results.

Organized effort was also made in 1907 by representatives of Illinois and other states for the construction of a lakes-to-the-gulf waterway, suitable for ocean-going vessels, at a cost of \$100,000,000. The matter was brought to the attention of the national authorities, and in March President Roosevelt appointed a Federal commission to consider the question, the members of which were: Theodore E. Burton, chairman; Francis G. Newlands, William Warner, John H. Bankhead, Alexander Mackenzie, J. W. McGee, F. H. Newell, Gifford Pinchot, and Herbert Knox Smith.



## CHAPTER LXXXII.

1908

### CLOSE OF ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION.

Nomination and Election of Taft.—Roosevelt's Attitude Toward the Presidency.—Principal Planks in the Republican Platform.—Democratic Nominees and Declarations.—Statistical Returns of the Election.—United States Supreme Court Affirms Fines of Packers.—The Gunness Murders.—Conservation of Natural Resources.—Mr. Roosevelt's Position.

The most important political event of 1908 was the nomination and election of William H. Taft, of Ohio, as President of the United States, with James Schoolcraft Sherman, of New York, as Vice President. While President Roosevelt had given positive assurance that he would not be a candidate for renomination, and did not hesitate to use the influence of his administration in behalf of Taft, efforts to induce him to reconsider his determination were not ended until the Republican convention was well under way and it was evident that Mr. Roosevelt could not be influenced to depart from his announced purpose to retire to private life.

While there was much hostility to Mr. Roosevelt among the large capitalists irrespective of party affiliation, and also among prominent Republican statesmen and political leaders, there can be no doubt but that he was a pronounced favorite with the great mass of the people. His entire course as President, whether always wise or not, his bold, manly attitude in emergencies when the welfare of the public was at stake, his moral courage in coping with grave problems of state, had endeared him to the country at

large, and he was admittedly the strongest character in public life at the time when delegates to the Republican national convention were to be chosen. It is an open secret that, although an overwhelming majority of these delegates, were, through the influence of Mr. Roosevelt, pledged to Taft, the convention could easily have been stampeded, and Roosevelt renominated, had he given the slightest intimation of his willingness to accept. To his credit, however, he stood firm. One of the greatest temptations ever offered to mortal man was cast aside, and he cheerfully made it possible for another man to become the ruler of the American people.

This is not an eulogy of Mr. Roosevelt. It is far from the intention of the writer to make of him the greatest character in American history. As to the wisdom of many of his official acts there can be honest difference of opinion; he was not infallible; he made errors in judgment and often they were serious ones, but it requires a man of exceptional broadness of mind to put behind him the greatest gift within the power of the people, to lay down without murmur, almost gladly it may be said, the reins of power, and to retire to the comparative obscurity of private life. It is not within the province of a small, a narrow-minded man, to act in this way.

Such opponents as Mr. Taft had in the convention of 1908 were named mainly out of courtesy. There was little real opposition. The names of Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois; Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana; Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio; Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania, and Robt. M. LaFollette, of Wisconsin, were handed in, but of these the only man in whose behalf a real fight was made was Mr. Foraker. The total number of votes cast was 980, of which Taft received 702. The number necessary to a choice was 491. Thanks to the preliminary work done by

the administration it was a "sweeping victory." Calmly considered it may be set down as a Roosevelt victory. He was Taft's sponsor, and the people, knowing they could not have Roosevelt, gladly endorsed his choice.

The principal planks of the platform on which Mr. Taft appealed for election were: Endorsement of the Roosevelt administration; denouncement of filibustering tactics by the Democratic party in order to delay or defeat legislation; revision of the tariff with maximum and minimum rates to be administered by the President under limitations fixed by law; endorsement of an emergency currency; approval of postal savings banks; anti-trust laws; strict enactment of railway rate laws; protection of workmen; endorsement of the power of the courts to issue injunctions; extension of aid to farmers in the way of good roads, rural free delivery of mails, etc.; equal justice for all men regardless of race or color; conservation of national resources, such as the preservation of forests, reclamation of arid lands, and improvement of waterways; maintenance of the efficiency of the army and navy; protection of Americans abroad; encouragement of foreign commerce; ratification of the Hague peace treaties; encouragement of American shipping; a liberal pension policy; reaffirmation of the merits and advisability of civil service; justification of Republican administration of insular affairs; admission of New Mexico and Arizona as separate states, etc.

Mr. Taft's principal opponent in the campaign that followed was William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, who was nominated on the Democratic ticket. The latter's running mate was John Worth Kern, of Indiana. Like Mr. Taft, Mr. Bryan had little or no real opposition in the convention, only two candidates, John A. Johnson, of Minnesota, and George Gray, of



Delaware, being named against him. Of the 998 votes cast Mr. Bryan received 892½, Mr. Gray 59½, and Mr. Johnson 46. It was an overwhelming endorsement of Mr. Bryan, despite the fact that he had been twice previously (in 1896 and 1900) defeated for the same office.

Mr. Bryan dictated the platform of his party. This demanded more economy in public expenditures; limitation of the power of the Speaker of the House of Representatives; cessation of campaign contributions by individuals and corporations in position to be benefited by the election of a favored candidate; reaffirmation of the doctrine of state rights; revision of the tariff with reduction of import duties; efficient regulation of railways; banking and currency laws which will curb Wall street; tax on individual and corporate incomes; modification of the low governing injunctions; abolition of bounties and subsidies to merchant marine; upbuilding of a navy adequate for coast defense and the protection of American citizens; enforcement of civil service laws; a generous pension policy; direct vote for United States senators; admission of New Mexico and Arizona as separate states; better protection of public lands; improvement of inland waterways; conservation and development of all natural resources; approval of the Panama canal, rights and privileges of territorial government for Alaska and Porto Rico; opposition to the immigration of Asiatics; condemnation of the national policy in regard to the Philippines.

While there was not much difference in the essential points of the two platforms, aside from a few minor exceptions, the people evidently put most faith in the Republican platform than they did in that of the Democrats. The total vote polled for Presidential electors was 14,867,718, of which Taft received 7,677,021, and Bryan 6,405,182, giving Taft a plur-

ality of 1,271,839. The rest was "scattering," being divided among the Prohibitionist, Socialist and Independent candidates. These combined got 785,616 votes. In 1896 Bryan had 6,502,925 to McKinley's 7,104,779, and in 1900 Bryan had 6,357,826 to McKinley's 7,217,810. This shows that the political sentiment of the country had remained on about the same basis for sixteen years, and that there was little real increase in the total vote despite the wonderful growth in population; at least nothing like what might have been reasonably expected. In 1896 the United States had a population of approximately 63,000,000. In 1900 this had increased to 76,000,000, showing a gain in population of 13,000,000, while the popular vote for President remained about stationary. One reason for this probably is the fact that a considerable part of the increase in population was due to the influx of foreigners, many of whom had not become naturalized.

While the popular vote was apparently rather close, considering its size, there was no doubt about the political complexion of the electoral college. In this Mr. Taft had 321 votes to 162 for Mr. Bryan, the seeming discrepancy between this and the popular vote being caused by the oldtime American plan of choosing the President by delegates (electors) from the various states instead of voting for a presidential choice direct. This plan is based on the theory of evening up the representation of the various states on the basis of population. Thus, New York, which in 1905 had a population of 8,067,308, had 39 votes in the electoral college, while Wyoming, which had only 101,816 population, had 3 electoral votes.

This year also marked the approval by the United States supreme court of the fines of \$15,000 each assessed against the Armour, Swift, Morris and Cudahy packing companies, and the Chicago, Burlington &

Quincy railroad in 1906 for violations of the anti-rebate law. The finding of the highest court in the country was very broad, it holding that special contracts could not be expected from the operation of the law, which requires that there shall be only one rate—the one fixed by statute—and that this rate is subject to change only in the manner specified by law.

It was contended on behalf of the defendants that they had employed no fraud or "device" as prohibited by the Elkins law and, further, that the district court for the western district of Missouri had no jurisdiction, as the alleged offense was committed in Kansas City, Kansas. It was held by the supreme court that the word "device" did not necessarily imply a fraudulent device, and that the trial court had jurisdiction because the sections of the law construed together made a case like this triable in any district through which the unlawful transportation was had.

Early in 1908—April 28th—the world was startled by the discovery near Laporte, Ind., of the evidence of wholesale murders, rivalling in number and atrocity the crimes of similar nature committed by the infamous Bender family of Kansas. The premises at Laporte were occupied by Mrs. Belle Gunness, a widow, with three small children. On the date named the house was burned and in the ruins was found the remains, the headless body, of a woman supposed to be Mrs. Gunness. Ray Lanphere, a neighbor, with whom Mrs. Gunness was alleged to have been intimate, was arrested. Suspicion was excited and a thorough search of the farm made, during which nine human bodies, aside from that supposed to be Mrs. Gunness, were dug up. Some of them were identified as those of men who had disappeared mysteriously. Mrs. Gunness had been in the habit of



advertising for a husband, and making it a condition that the applicant must have a certain amount in cash. A number of those who in this way made engagements to meet her at the farm were never seen again alive. It is the supposition that Mrs. Gunness, becoming fearful of discovery, poisoned herself and set fire to her house. This, however, is untenable if the headless body found in the ruins was that of Mrs. Gunness. If the identity was correctly established the woman must have been killed and beheaded by another party. It has been held that Lanphere, quarreling with the woman, killed her, cut off her head to prevent identification, and buried it so it could not be found. This has never been proven. On the other hand there is a theory that Mrs. Gunness herself obtained the body of an unknown woman of about her own size, cut off the head, set fire to the house in the hopes that everything except unrecognizable ashes would be consumed, and then disappeared. It is one of the most mysterious affairs in criminal annals.

Conservation of the national resources received the attention of a convention composed of the governors of the various states held at the White House, Washington, May 13-15th, with President Roosevelt presiding. Among those specially invited and in attendance were Andrew Carnegie, James J. Hill, John Mitchell, Prof. T. C. Chamberlin, Dr. I. C. White, William Jennings Bryan, and Judge George Gray. The sessions were addressed by President Roosevelt, Andrew Carnegie, Dr. I. C. White, former-Governor George C. Pardee, H. A. Jastro, Joseph M. Carey, Prof. Emory R. Johnson, H. S. Putnam, John Mitchell, Mr. Bryan, and many of the governors, the prevailing sentiment being that the national government should take energetic steps to conserve to the people what was left of our national resources. The

policy of President Roosevelt was strongly endorsed and Congress called upon to take immediate action.

In opening the conference President Roosevelt said the problem to be considered was the weightiest now before the nation and that the occasion for the meeting was the fact that the natural resources of the country were in danger of exhaustion if the old wasteful methods of exploiting them were permitted to continue. "This nation," he said, "began with the belief that its landed possessions were illimitable and capable of supporting all the people who might care to make our country their home; but already the limit of unsettled land is in sight and, indeed, but little land fitted for agriculture now remains unoccupied save what can be reclaimed by irrigation and drainage. We began with an unapproachable heritage of forests: more than half of the timber is gone. We began with coal fields more extensive than those of any other nation and with iron ores regarded as inexhaustible, and many experts now declare that the end of both iron and coal is in sight. The mere increase in our consumption of coal during 1907 over 1906 exceeded the total consumption in 1876, the centennial year. The enormous stores of mineral oil and gas are largely gone.

"Our natural waterways are not gone, but they have been so injured by neglect and by the division of responsibility and utter lack of system in dealing with them that there is less navigation on them now than there was fifty years ago. Finally, we began with soils of unexampled fertility and we have so impoverished them by injudicious use and by failing to check erosion that their crop-producing power is diminishing instead of increasing. In a word, we have thoughtlessly and to a large degree unnecessarily diminished the resources upon which not only

our prosperity but the prosperity of our children must always depend.

"We have become great because of the lavish use of our resources and we have just reason to be proud of our growth. But the time has come to inquire seriously what will happen when our forests are gone, when the coal, the iron, the oil and the gas are exhausted, when the soils shall have been still further impoverished and washed into the streams, polluting the rivers, denuding the fields and obstructing navigation. \* \* \*

"We are on the verge of a timber famine in this country and it is unpardonable for the nation or the states to permit any further cutting of our timber save in accordance with a system which will provide that the next generation shall see the timber increased instead of diminished. Moreover, we can add enormous tracts of the most valuable possible agricultural land to the national domain by irrigation in the arid and semiarid regions and by drainage of great tracts of swamp land in the humid regions. We can enormously increase our transportation facilities by the canalization of our rivers so as to complete a great system of waterways on the Pacific, Atlantic and gulf coasts and in the Mississippi valley, from the great plains to the Alleghenies and from the northern lakes to the mouth of the mighty father of waters. But all these various uses of our natural resources are so closely connected that they should be co-ordinated and should be treated as part of one coherent plan and not in haphazard and piecemeal fashion.

"We are coming to recognize as never before the right of the nation to guard its own future in the essential matter of natural resources. In the past we have admitted the right of the individual to injure the future of the republic for his own present



profit. The time has come for a change. As a people we have the right and the duty, second to none other but the right and duty of obeying the moral law, of requiring and doing justice, to protect ourselves and our children against the wasteful development of our natural resources, whether that waste is caused by the actual destruction of such resources or by making them impossible of development hereafter. \* \* \* There are signs that both the nation and the states are waking to a realization of this great truth. On March 10, 1908, the Supreme court of Maine rendered an exceedingly important judicial decision. This opinion was rendered in response to questions as to the right of the legislature to restrict the cutting of trees on private land for the prevention of droughts and floods, the preservation of the natural water supply and the prevention of the erosion of such lands and the consequent filling up of rivers, ponds and lakes. \* \* \*

"The opinion of the Maine Supreme bench sets forth unequivocally the principle that the property rights of the individual are subordinate to the rights of the community, and especially that the waste of wild timber land derived originally from the state, involving as it would the impoverishment of the state and its people and thereby defeating one great purpose of government, may properly be prevented by state restrictions. \* \* \* The Court of Errors and Appeals of New Jersey has adopted a similar view, which has recently been sustained by the Supreme court of the United States."

On the strength of the recommendations made by President Roosevelt and other members of the convention, the following resolutions were adopted:

"We declare our firm conviction that this conservation of our natural resources is a subject of transcendent importance, which should engage unremit-

tingly the attention of the nation, the state and the people in earnest co-operation. These natural resources include the land on which we live, and which yields our food; the living waters, which fertilize the soil, supply power, and form great avenues of commerce; the forests, which yield the materials for our homes, prevent erosion of the soil, and conserve the navigation and other uses of our streams, and the minerals which form the basis of our industrial life and supply us with light, heat and power.

"We agree that the land should be so used that erosion and soil wash should cease; that there should be reclamation of arid and semi-arid regions by means of irrigation and of swamp and overflowed regions by means of drainage; that the waters should be so conserved and used as to promote navigation, to enable the arid regions to be reclaimed by irrigation, and to develop powers in the interests of the people; that the forests, which regulate our rivers, support our industries and promote the fertility and productiveness of the soil, should be preserved and perpetuated; that the minerals found so abundantly beneath the surface should be used so as to prolong their utility; that the beauty, healthfulness and habitability of our country should be preserved and increased, that the sources of national wealth exist for the benefit of all the people, and that the monopoly thereof should not be tolerated.

"We commend the wise forethought of the President in sounding the note of warning as to the waste and exhaustion of the natural resources of the country and signify our appreciation of his action in calling this conference to consider the same and to seek remedies therefor through co-operation of the nation and the states.

"We agree that this co-operation should find expression in suitable action by the Congress within

the limits of and co-extensive with the national jurisdiction of the subject and, complementary thereto, by the legislatures of the several states within the limits of and co-extensive with their jurisdiction.

"We declare the conviction that in the use of the natural resources our independent states are interdependent and bound together by ties of mutual benefits, responsibilities and duties.

"We agree in the wisdom of future conferences between the President, members of Congress and the governors of the states regarding the conservation of our natural resources, with the view of continued operation and action on the lines suggested. And to this end we advise that from time to time, as in his judgment may seem wise, the President call the governors of the states, members of Congress and others into conference.

"We agree that further action is advisable to ascertain the present condition of our natural resources and to promote the conservation of the same, and to that end we recommend the appointment by each state of a commission on the conservation of natural resources, to co-operate with each other and with any similar commission on behalf of the federal government.

"We urge the continuation and extension of forest policies adapted to secure the husbanding and renewal of our diminishing timber supply, the prevention of soil erosion, the protection of head waters, and the maintenance of the purity and navigability of our streams. We recognize that the private ownership of forest lands entails responsibilities in the interests of all the people and we favor the enactment of laws looking to the protection and replacement of privately owned forests.

"We recognize in our waters a most valuable asset of the people of the United States and we recommend



the enactment of laws looking to the conservation of water resources for irrigation, water supply, power and navigation, to the end that navigable and source streams may be brought under complete control and fully utilized for every purpose. We especially urge on the federal Congress the immediate adoption of a wise, active and thorough waterway policy, providing for the prompt improvement of our streams and conservation of their watersheds required for the use of commerce and the protection of the interests of our people.

“We recommend the enactment of laws looking to the prevention of waste in the mining and extraction of coal, oil, gas and other minerals, with a view to their wise conservation for the use of the people, and to the protection of human life in the mines.

“Let us conserve the foundations of our prosperity.”

## CHAPTER LXXXIII.

1908

### PASSING OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

Death of Former President Cleveland.—His Place in the Nation's History.—How Cleveland Defeated Blaine.—Part Taken by Roscoe Conkling.—Cleveland's Manly Stand in the Venezuelan Crisis.—Great Britain Forced to Recede.—Fines of Standard Oil Set Aside.—President Roosevelt's Last Message.—His Position Toward Federal Control of Corporations.—Opposition to Public Clamor for More Stringent Enforcement of the Law.—People Aroused on the Conservation Question.

Stephen Grover Cleveland, President of the United States from 1885 to 1889, and from 1893 to 1897, died at his home at Princeton, New Jersey, June 24th, 1908, from heart trouble, complicated with an organic disease of the kidneys. He was born at Caldwell, New Jersey, March 13th, 1837, and served as a clerk in a country store at Fayetteville, N. Y., in 1850. In 1859 he was admitted to practice law at Buffalo, N. Y., was elected sheriff of Erie county in 1870, and in 1881 became mayor of Buffalo. His advance in politics from then on was rapid. In 1882 he was elected governor of New York state and made such a good executive that his elevation to the presidency in 1885 (election in 1884) followed. His plurality for governor was 195,000, he having by that time achieved a reputation as a safe, conservative and incorruptible leader.

Cleveland's opponent for the presidency in 1884 was James G. Blaine, "the white-plumed knight," as Ingersoll had named him, one of the idols of the Republican party, but, while a man of great mental force and high ability, one who had incurred the

enmity of influential leaders in his party, and was accused of complicity in the Credit Mobilier scandals. The contest was a memorable one, Cleveland finally winning by the narrow margin of 23,005 votes in a total poll of 9,950,706. The official figures were: Cleveland, 4,874,986; Blaine, 4,851,981; St. John (prohibitionist), 150,369; Butler (independent), 173,870. It has always been asserted by Blaine's friends that he was defeated through the hostility of Roscoe Conkling, the latter never having forgiven him for alleged duplicity in political affairs while Secretary of State in Garfield's cabinet. For nearly a week the result was in doubt and hinged upon the vote of New York state. This was given to Mr. Cleveland by the slender margin of 1,047, ensuring him 219 electoral votes to 182 for Mr. Blaine.

In the fall of 1884, when the presidential campaign was at its height and General Hancock, the Democratic nominee, was supposed to have a very good chance of winning, a conference was held at Mentor, Ohio, (Garfield's home) between Garfield and Conkling. Up to this time neither Conkling nor Grant had taken any part in the struggle, and were supposed to be sulking under the defeat of Conkling's preferred candidate (Grant) in the national convention. At the Mentor conference Mr. Conkling made it plain that this did not trouble him so much as uncertainty concerning what Mr. Blaine, if appointed Secretary of State in Garfield's cabinet, would do in the matter of New York state appointments. During the conference Mr. Conkling is reported to have said to Mr. Garfield:

"I have no desire, and I am equally positive that General Grant has not, to dictate to you in any manner regarding Federal appointments. All I ask is that no men be named to office in New York state until I have been consulted. This courtesy, at least



is due me as the senior senator, and one of those who will have to pass on the confirmations."

This may appear like a peculiar request to make of a presidential candidate on the eve of election, but Mr. Conkling had a strong reason for it. One of the New York state delegates who had deserted the Grant forces in the convention, after being pledged to stand faithfully to the end, was Judge William Robertson. Mr. Conkling believed that one of Mr. Blaine's first official acts would be to reward Robertson, and he wished to prevent it.

There can be little doubt that a compact of this kind, on the lines laid down by Conkling, was made at Mentor, for both Grant and Conkling at once jumped into the fray and turned the tide of battle. Garfield was elected, Blaine was made Secretary of State, and one of his first moves was to name Robertson as collector of customs for the port of New York. Conkling felt that his trust had been basely betrayed, and when Blaine was nominated for the presidency would take no active part in the campaign. He did not openly work against Blaine, but declined to give him the powerful support of which he was capable, and the electoral vote of New York state went to Cleveland. It is also probable that the famous "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" utterance of the Rev. Dr. Burchard at a New York city banquet near the close of the campaign, was a factor in the defeat of Mr. Blaine. These unfortunate, illy-chosen words offended the Catholics and they cast their votes for Cleveland as a rebuke, many of them being at heart opposed to the Democratic candidate because of some of his acts as governor which they did not sanction.

Few stronger men than Cleveland have ever occupied the presidential chair. He was a Democratic Roosevelt, in courage, honesty, great brain power, and bulldog tenacity of purpose. He antagonized

many big men in his party by his refusal to bow to their wishes in the distribution of political patronage, and his speedy exit from public life was prophesied. Mr. Cleveland, however, was a bigger man than his party. So long as he maintained his activities the party was a mere adjunct to Cleveland; he was the Democracy. He was renominated in 1888, but, owing to disaffections within his party, was defeated by Benjamin Harrison. In 1892 he was again renominated, his opponent again being Harrison, and this time was successful.

Cleveland's first administration was unmarked by any particularly important matters of state, going down into history mainly as a safe, sane, and conservative one. During his second administration, however, there was ample occasion for the exercise of statesmanship of a high order, and the executive was not found wanting. For years Great Britain and Venezuela had been in dispute over the ownership and control of an extensive territory lying between the Orinoco and Amazon rivers, in Venezuela, with an area larger than the state of New York, and containing rich gold mines, and other valuables. Venezuela offered to submit the matter to arbitration, but Great Britain refused. The dispute was taken up by the United States Congress, on the suggestion of President Cleveland, on the ground that a serious violation of the Monroe doctrine, to which this country is inalterably pledged, was involved.

Ambassador Bayard submitted the official note suggesting arbitration to the British authorities, the reply from whom was far from peacelike. They virtually told the American people that it was none of their affair, and that Great Britain proposed to settle its differences with Venezuela in its own way. "America will do well to mind its own business," was the purport, if not the actual wording, of the British

answer. The people of both countries became wildly excited, extensive preparations for war were made, and open rupture seemed unavoidable. President Cleveland, however, proved himself master of the situation. On December 17th, 1905, instead of wavering in the interests of peace as many influential men insisted he should do, he sent a message to Congress which plainly told the British government that armed interference in Venezuela would be met by similar action on the part of the United States.

In his message President Cleveland submitted the official correspondence on the subject, and asked for authority to appoint a commission to determine the merits of the boundary dispute, in order that this government might decide upon the proper line of action. He bluntly insisted that, if England maintained a wrongful course, the United States would "resist by every means within its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands, or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory, which, after investigation, we have determined by right belongs to Venezuela."

Finding that President Cleveland intended to stand firmly on this platform, and could not be induced to retreat from the position he had taken, the British authorities finally consented to arbitration, and a treaty to that effect was signed.

Cleveland's unswervable attitude in this emergency did much to enhance public opinion as to his worth as a statesman. Previous to this he had been given credit principally for being a smart man and a very lucky one. After the Venezuela incident, and the successful manner in which he met and contended with the brainiest diplomats of Great Britain, finally bending them to his will, it was recognized that Stephen Grover Cleveland was something more than



"smart and lucky." He took his place as one of the really big men of the nation.

On July 22d, 1908, the United States circuit court of appeals set aside the fine of \$29,240,000 imposed by Judge Landis on the Standard Oil Company for violations of the Elkins rebate law. Much had been expected in the way of reform from the salutary effect of the enormous fine which it was generally considered would be paid by the defendant, or at least some adequate compromise made. While the proceedings were originally against the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, it was known that this was a branch of the parent company, the Standard Oil of New Jersey, and it was generally understood that the latter was responsible for the management and acts of the defendant company. It is evident that Judge Landis, of the Federal trial court, took this view in fixing upon the amount of the penalty. Right here, so the Federal circuit court of appeals ruled, the judge made a vital error, invalidating the penalty. The fine, it held, should have been fixed solely without regard to the New Jersey corporation and its ability to pay. The offender, if there was one, was the Indiana corporation, and its financial punishment should have been based on its own financial responsibility. It was held that the trial court erred in excluding evidence of knowledge and intent on the part of the defendants in accepting rebates, and that there was also error in the manner of computing the number of offenses. The reviewing court held that it was each cash settlement, each payment of a rebate, that constituted an offense, and not the shipment of each carload of oil, the offense not being committed until the money had been paid.

President Roosevelt's last regular official message was transmitted on December 7th, 1908, at the opening of the second session of the 60th Congress. It

was in many respects a remarkable document, covering in a bold, courageous manner many topics of national interest and importance. The relations of the government and the corporations commanded a great deal of his attention. He took a radical stand against public clamor for the enactment and enforcement of legislation which would prohibit all corporate combinations, especially those of railroads. In this connection he said:

"As regards the great corporations engaged in interstate business, and especially the railroads, I can only repeat what I have already again and again said in my messages to the congress. I believe that under the interstate clause of the constitution the United States has complete and paramount right to control all agencies of interstate commerce, and I believe that the national government alone can exercise this right with wisdom and effectiveness so as to both secure justice from and to do justice to the great corporations which are the most important factors in modern business. I believe that it is worse than folly to attempt to prohibit all combinations as is done by the Sherman antitrust law, because such a law can be enforced only imperfectly and unequally, and its enforcement works almost as much hardship as good. I strongly advocate that instead of an unwise effort to prohibit all combinations there shall be substituted a law which shall expressly permit combinations which are in the interest of the public, but shall at the same time give to some agency of the national government full power of control and supervision over them. One of the chief features of this control should be securing entire publicity in all matters which the public has a right to know, and furthermore, the power, not by judicial but by executive action, to prevent or put a stop to every form of improper favoritism or other wrongdoing.

"The railways of the country should be put completely under the interstate-commerce commission and removed from the domain of the antitrust law. The power of the commission should be made thoroughgoing, so that it could exercise complete supervision and control over the issue of securities as well, as over the raising and lowering of rates. As regards rates, at least, this power should be summary. The power to investigate the financial operations and accounts of the railways has been one of the most valuable features in recent legislation. Power to make combinations and traffic agreements should be explicitly conferred upon the railroads, the permission of the commission being first gained and the combination or agreement being published in all its details. In the interest of the public the representatives of the public should have complete power to see that the railroads do their duty by the public, and as a matter of course this power should also be exercised so as to see that no injustice is done to the railroads. The shareholders, the employes and the shippers all have interests that must be guarded. It is to the interest of all of them that no swindling stock speculation should be allowed and that there should be no improper issuance of securities.

"The guiding intelligences necessary for the successful building and successful management of railroads should receive ample remuneration, but no man should be allowed to make money in connection with railroads out of fraudulent overcapitalization and kindred stock-gambling performances; there must be no defrauding of investors, oppression of the farmers and business men who ship freight, or callous disregard of the rights and needs of the employes. In addition to this the interests of the shareholders, of the employes and of the shippers should all be guarded as against one another. To give any one of them



undue and improper consideration is to do injustice to the others. Rates must be made as low as is compatible with giving proper returns to all the employes of the railroad, from the highest to the lowest, and proper returns to the shareholders, but they must not, for instance, be reduced in such fashion as to necessitate a cut in the wages of the employes or the abolition of the proper and legitimate profits of honest shareholders.

"Telegraph and telephone companies engaged in interstate business should be put under the jurisdiction of the interstate-commerce commission.

"It is very earnestly to be wished that our people, through their representatives, should act in this matter. It is hard to say whether most damage to the country at large would come from entire failure on the part of the public to supervise and control the actions of the great corporations or from the exercise of the necessary governmental power in a way which would do injustice and wrong to the corporations. Both the preachers of an unrestricted individualism and the preachers of an oppression which would deny to able men of business the just reward of their initiative and business sagacity are advocating policies that would be fraught with the gravest harm to the whole country. To permit every lawless capitalist, every law-defying corporation, to take any action, no matter how iniquitous, in the effort to secure an improper profit and to build up privilege would be ruinous to the republic and would mark the abandonment of the effort to secure in the industrial world the spirit of democratic fair dealing. On the other hand, to attack these wrongs in that spirit of demagoguery which can see wrong only when committed by the man of wealth and is dumb and blind in the presence of wrong committed against men of property or by men of no property, is exactly as evil as corruptly to

defend the wrongdoing of men of wealth. The war we wage must be waged against misconduct, against wrongdoing, wherever it is found, and we must stand heartily for the rights of every decent man who earns his livelihood as a wage worker or a tiller of the soil."

"Men of property," continued the President, "should recognize that they jeopardize the rights of property when they fail to heartily join in the effort to do away with the abuses of wealth."

Regarding the other side of the problem he said: "On the other hand those who advocate proper control on behalf of the public, through the state, of these great corporations and of the wealth engaged on a giant scale in business operations must ever keep in mind that unless they do scrupulous justice to the corporation, unless they permit ample profit and cordially encourage capable men of business so long as they will act with honesty, they are striking at the root of our national well-being; for in the long run, under the mere pressure of material distress, the people as a whole would probably go back to the reign of an unrestricted individualism rather than submit to a control by the state so drastic and so foolish, conceived in a spirit of such unreasonable and narrow hostility to wealth, as to prevent business operations from being profitable and therefore to bring ruin upon the entire business community.

"The effective fight against adequate government control and supervision of individual and especially of corporate wealth engaged in interstate business is chiefly done under cover, and especially under cover of an appeal to state's rights. It is not at all infrequent to read in the same speech a denunciation of predatory wealth fostered by special privilege and defiant of both the public welfare and law of the land, and a denunciation of centralization in the central

government of the power to deal with this centralized and organized wealth. Of course the policy set forth in such twin denunciations amounts to absolutely nothing, for the first half is nullified by the second half. The chief reason, among the many sound and compelling reasons, that led to the formation of the national government was the absolute need that the union and not the several states should deal with interstate and foreign commerce, and the power to deal with interstate-commerce was granted absolutely and plenarily to the central government and was exercised completely as regards the only instruments of interstate-commerce known in those days—the waterways, the high roads, as well as the partnerships of individuals who then conducted all of what business there was.

“Interstate-commerce is now chiefly conducted by railroads, and the great corporation has supplanted the mass of small partnerships or individuals. The proposal to make the national government supreme over and therefore to give it complete control over the railroads and other instruments of interstate commerce is merely a proposal to carry out to the letter one of the prime purposes, if not the prime purpose, for which the constitution was founded. It does not represent centralization. It represents merely the acknowledgment of the patent fact that centralization has already come in business. If this irresponsible outside business power is to be controlled in the interest of the general public it can only be controlled in one way—by giving adequate power of control to the one sovereignty capable of exercising such power, the national government.

“Forty or fifty separate state governments cannot exercise that power over corporations doing business in most or all of them; first, because they absolutely lack the authority to deal with interstate business in



any form, and, second, because of the inevitable conflict of authority sure to arise in the effort to enforce different kinds of state regulation, often inconsistent with one another and sometimes oppressive in themselves. Such divided authority cannot regulate commerce with wisdom and effect. The central government is the only power which, without oppression, can nevertheless thoroughly and adequately control and supervise the large corporations. To abandon the effort for all adequate control means to abandon the effort for all adequate supervision, and yet to render likely continual bursts of action by state legislatures, which cannot achieve the purpose sought for, but which can do a great deal of damage to the corporation without conferring any real benefit on the public.

"I believe that the more farsighted corporations are themselves coming to recognize the unwisdom of the violent hostility they have displayed during the last few years to regulation and control by the national government of combinations engaged in interstate business. The truth is that we who believe in this movement of asserting and exercising a genuine control in the public interest over these great corporations have to contend against two sets of enemies, who, though nominally opposed to one another, are really allies in preventing a proper solution of the problem. There are, first, the big corporation men and the extreme individualists among business men, who genuinely believe in utterly unregulated business—that is, in the reign of plutocracy—and, second, the men who, being blind to the economic movements of the day, believe in a movement of repression rather than of regulation of corporations and who denounce both the power of the railroads and the exercise of the federal power which alone can really control the railroads. Those who believe in

efficient national control, on the other hand, do not in the least object to combinations ; do not in the least object to concentration in business administration. On the contrary, they favor both, with the all-important proviso that there shall be such publicity about their workings and such thoroughgoing control over them as to insure their being in the interest and not against the interest of the general public.

"We do not object to the concentration of wealth and administration, but we do believe in the distribution of the wealth in profits to the real owners and in securing to the public the full benefit of the concentrated administration. We believe that with concentration in administration there can come both the advantage of a larger ownership and of a more equitable distribution of profits and at the same time a better service to the commonwealth. We believe that the administration should be for the benefit of the many, and that greed and rascality practiced on a large scale should be punished as relentlessly as if practiced on a small scale.

"We do not for a moment believe that the problem will be solved by any short and easy method. The solution will come only by pressing various concurrent remedies. Some of these remedies must lie outside the domain of all government. Some must lie outside the domain of the federal government. But there is legislation which the federal government alone can enact and which is absolutely vital in order to secure the attainment of our purpose. Many laws are needed. There should be regulation by the national government of the great interstate corporations, including a simple method of account keeping, publicity, supervision of the issue of securities, abolition of rebates and of special privileges. There should be short-time franchises for all corporations engaged in public business, including the corpora-

tions which get power from water rights. There should be national as well as state guardianship of mines and forests. The labor legislation hereinafter referred to should concurrently be enacted into law.

"To accomplish this means of course a certain increase in the use of—not the creation of—power by the central government. The power already exists, it does not have to be created; the only question is whether it shall be used or left idle—and meanwhile the corporations over which the power ought to be exercised will not remain idle. Let those who object to this increase in the use of the only power available, the national power, be frank and admit openly that they propose to abandon any effort to control the great business corporations and to exercise supervision over the accumulation and distribution of wealth, for such supervision and control can only come through this particular kind of increase of power. We no more believe in that empiricism which demands absolutely unrestrained individualism than we do in that empiricism which clamors for a deadening socialism which would destroy all individual initiative and would ruin the country with a completeness that not even an unrestrained individualism itself could achieve.

"The danger to American democracy lies not in the least in the concentration of administrative power in responsible and accountable hands. It lies in having the power insufficiently concentrated so that no one can be held responsible to the people for its use. Concentrated power is palpable, visible, responsible, easily reached, quickly held to account. Power scattered through many administrators, many legislators, many men who work behind and through legislators and administrators, is impalpable, is unseen, is irresponsible, cannot be reached, cannot be held to account. Democracy is in peril wherever the ad-



ministration of political power is scattered among a variety of men who work in secret, whose very names are unknown to the common people. It is not in peril from any men who derives authority from the people, who exercises it in sight of the people, and who is from time to time compelled to give an account of its exercise to the people."

Protection for the toilers was demanded, President Roosevelt calling attention to the fact that the existing lack of system in this respect was of benefit only to the lawyers. The practice of issuing temporary injunctions in labor troubles without notice to employes was condemned, and courts admonished to be more careful in observance of the rights of the people.

In discussing the rights of wage-workers generally, and especially as regards legal protection, the President spoke in no uncertain terms, giving the judiciary a severe lashing for being too quick to make hypocritical rulings against the laboring class. In this connection he said:

"There are certain decisions by various courts which have been exceedingly detrimental to the rights of wage-workers. This is true of all the decisions that decide that men and women are by the constitution 'guaranteed their liberty' to contract to enter a dangerous occupation, or to work an undesirable or improper number of hours, or to work in unhealthy surroundings, and therefore cannot recover damages when maimed in that occupation and cannot be forbidden to work what the legislature decides is an excessive number of hours, or to carry on the work under conditions which the legislature decides to be unhealthy. The most dangerous occupations are often the poorest paid and those where the hours of work are longest; and in many cases those who go into them are driven by necessity so great

that they have practically no alternative. Decisions such as those alluded to above nullify the legislative effort to protect the wage-workers who most need protection from those employers who take advantage of their grinding need. They halt or hamper the movement for securing better and more equitable conditions of labor. The talk about preserving to the misery-hunted beings who make contracts for such service their 'liberty' to make them is either to speak in a spirit of heartless irony or else to show an utter lack of knowledge of the conditions of life among the great masses of our fellow countrymen, a lack which unfits a judge to do good service, just as it would unfit any executive or legislative officer.

"There is also, I think, ground for the belief that substantial injustice is often suffered by employes in consequence of the custom of courts issuing temporary injunctions without notice to them, and punishing them for contempt of court in instances where, as a matter of fact, they have no knowledge of any proceedings. Outside of organized labor there is a widespread feeling that this system often works great injustice to wage-workers when their efforts to better their working condition result in industrial disputes. A temporary injunction procured *ex parte* may as a matter of fact have all the effect of a permanent injunction in causing disaster to the wage-worker's side in such a dispute. Organized labor is chafing under the unjust restraint which comes from repeated resort to this plan of procedure. Its discontent has been unwisely expressed, and often improperly expressed, but there is a sound basis for it, and the orderly and lawabiding people of a community would be in a far stronger position for upholding the courts if the undoubtedly existing abuses could be provided against.

"Such proposals as those mentioned above as ad-

vocated by the extreme labor leaders contain the vital error of being class legislation of the most offensive kind and even if enacted into law I believe that the law would rightly be held unconstitutional. Moreover, the labor people are themselves now beginning to invoke the use of the power of injunction. During the last ten years and within my own knowledge at least fifty injunctions have been obtained by labor unions in New York City alone, most of them being to protect the union label (a 'property right'), but some being obtained for other reasons against employers. The power of injunction is a great equitable remedy, which should on no account be destroyed. But safeguards should be erected against its abuse. I believe that some such provisions as those I advocated a year ago for checking the abuse of the issuance of temporary injunctions should be adopted. In substance, provision should be made that no injunction or temporary restraining order issue otherwise than on notice, except where irreparable injury would otherwise result; and in such case a hearing on the merits of the order should be had within a short fixed period, and, if not then continued after hearing, it should forthwith lapse. Decisions should be rendered immediately and the chance of delay minimized in every way. Moreover, I believe that the procedure should be sharply defined and the judge required minutely to state the particulars both of his action and of his reasons therefor, so that the Congress can if it desires examine and investigate the same.

"The chief lawmakers in our country may be, and often are, the judges, because they are the final seat of authority. Every time they interpret contract, property, vested rights, due process of law, liberty, they necessarily enact into law parts of a system of social philosophy; and as such interpretation is



fundamental, they give direction to all lawmaking. The decisions of the courts on economic and social questions depend upon their economic and social philosophy; and for the peaceful progress of our people during the twentieth century we shall owe most to those judges who hold to a twentieth century economic and social philosophy and not to a long outgrown philosophy which was itself the product of primitive economic conditions. Of course a judge's views on progressive social philosophy are entirely second in importance to his possession of a high and fine character; which means the possession of such elementary virtues as honesty, courage and fairmindedness. The judge who owes his election to pandering to demagogic sentiments or class hatreds and prejudices, and the judge who owes either his election or his appointment to the money or the favor of a great corporation, are alike unworthy to sit on the bench, are alike traitors to the people; and no profundity of legal learning or correctness of abstract conviction on questions of public policy can serve as an offset to such shortcomings. But it is also true that judges, like executives and legislators, should hold sound views on the questions of public policy which are of vital interest to the people."

In the same message preservation of our forests was urged as a national duty. The importance of this was impressed upon the public in the following language: "Shortsighted persons or persons blinded to the future by desire to make money in every way out of the present sometimes speak as if no great damage would be done by the reckless destruction of our forests. It is difficult to have patience with the arguments of these persons. Thanks to our own recklessness in the use of our splendid forests, we have already crossed the verge of a timber famine in this country, and no measures that we now take

can, at least for many years, undo the mischief that has already been done. But we can prevent further mischief being done, and it would be in the highest degree reprehensible to let any consideration of temporary convenience or temporary cost interfere with such action, especially as regards the national forests which the nation can now, at this very moment, control."

Improvement of inland waterways, a graduated income tax, the establishment of postal savings banks, participation by the National government in matters of education, preservation of interstate fisheries, improvement of the army by the utilization of the national guard, and an enlargement of the navy, were also favored.

As an outcome of the gathering at Washington, May 13th-15th, a second conference on the subject of conserving the national resources was held in the same city on December 8th-11th, 1908. This was participated in by the governors of twenty-two states and territories, representatives of conservation committees from twenty-two states, and representatives from sixty organizations co-operating with the national commission. Resolutions were adopted commending the national commission's report; approving the principle of co-operation between the states and between these and the federal government; commending and urging the adoption of the policy of separate disposal of the surface rights, timber rights and mineral rights on the remaining public lands of the United States; approving of the disposal of mineral rights by lease only and the disposal of timber rights only under conditions insuring proper cutting and logging with a view to the protection of growing timber and the watersheds and headwaters of streams used for navigation; urging prompt legislation for the immediate development of the waterways

of the country for navigation, water supply and other interstate uses, preferably by direct federal appropriations, otherwise by the issue of bonds; urging the prompt adoption of the plan recommended by the inland waterways commission for waterway development under an executive board or commission appointed by and acting under the direction of the President of the United States; favoring the maintenance of conservation commissions in every state and urging upon Congress the desirability of maintaining a national conservation commission.

Gifford Pinchot was made chairman of the joint committee, and also of the national commission. The conference recommended that the timber, minerals and surface of all public lands should be disposed of separately, and that title to the surface of such lands should be granted only to actual home makers.

This was the real, earnest beginning of the conservation movement which has since grown to mammoth proportions. The first conference in May, 1908, was merely preliminary. At this first meeting the seed was sown which later yielded such wonderful results. The people were awakened to the fact that their priceless domain was being taken from them through bogus land claims and equally bogus "settlements" under the liberal laws of the country. At the time these laws were enacted there was actual need of encouraging settlement, and for some years the various statutes had a beneficial effect in this direction. But in time they came to be woefully abused. Speculators, working through dummy claimants, usurped the best part of the government lands which were intended for actual settlers, the pioneers who in later years were to make the prairies yield bounteous crops, and become a substantial part of Uncle Sam's kingdom.

It was not until President Roosevelt called the at-



tention of the public to the wrongs that were being committed that the people were aroused to a real sense of the situation. Under previous administrations millions of acres of the public lands, then looked upon as practically worthless, but since proven to be of great value, had passed into the possession of individuals who held title not as tillers, but merely for speculative purposes. Valuable forest and mineral, water, and similar rights in this way were alienated from the public. It was time to call a halt on this rapacious raid, and it remained for President Roosevelt to do it.

In taking the attitude he did he was severely attacked by the interests which had been industrious in acquiring the property of the people at little or no cost. His motives were assailed, and an attempt was made to discredit him through the press of the country, especially in that portion of it controlled by men who were interested directly or indirectly in the unlawful acquisition of the public domain. The policy of conservation was intentionally misinterpreted and placed before the people in a false light, and grave scandal, affecting men high in public life, arose.

## CHAPTER LXXXIV.

1909

### THE TAFT ADMINISTRATION.

Some Inside History Concerning Mr. Roosevelt. — President Taft's First Message. — Demand for Tariff Revision. — Bank Guarantee Laws. — Important Ruling by Supreme Court in Transportation Regulation. — First Really Successful Flying Machines. — Government Conditions Complied With. — Tour of American Naval Fleet Around the World. — Reasons for the Cruise, and its Results. — Nicaraguan Troubles.

Connected with the elevation of Mr. Roosevelt to the presidency there is a story of unusual interest, the authenticity of which appears to be well established. During Roosevelt's term of office as governor of New York state he aroused the enmity of the political leaders by his independent attitude and refusal to accept their dictation in the administration of state affairs. They classed him as a dangerous man who, if not curbed, was likely to interfere with their plans and make serious trouble for them. At that time Mr. Roosevelt was very popular with the people and the indications were that no human power could prevent his renomination and re-election as governor. This was something the political managers desired to avoid at all hazards. They wanted to once more get control of state affairs, and to ensure this it was necessary to sidetrack Mr. Roosevelt, the main obstacle in their way.

The vice presidency had long been looked upon as a sort of political burial ground. United States Senator Thomas C. Platt, chief leader of the opposition to Roosevelt, and the undisputed "boss" of the machinery of the Republican party in New York state.

is credited with being the prime mover in the manipulation which placed Roosevelt on the national ticket with McKinley in 1900. Mr. Platt and his followers did not desire to honor Mr. Roosevelt in naming him for the vice presidency, but they did most heartily wish to shelve him politically. McKinley and Roosevelt were elected, and the schemers were happy. But Fate took a hand in the game. McKinley was assassinated, and Roosevelt became President, the very position which the arch-plotters did not wish him to attain. He was bad enough, in their estimation, as governor of New York, but would be far more objectionable as President, as he would have more power and opportunity to interfere with their plans. This proved to be the case. Once seated as President it soon became evident that Roosevelt was not to be fettered by the orders or wishes of party "bosses" and the people quickly came to understand that they had a President who recognized no bounds of class, and was animated solely by a desire to ensure an administration of governmental affairs that would be to the best interests of the country.

Almost immediately after his term of office had expired Mr. Roosevelt went to Africa where he remained a little over a year hunting large game in the wildest part of the "Dark Continent." He was accompanied by his son Kermit, Major Edgar A. Means, ornithologist; Edmund Heller, zoologist, and J. Allen Loring, naturalist. The party sailed from New York on the steamer Hamburg, March 23d, 1909, three weeks after Mr. Roosevelt had surrendered the duties of the presidential office to Mr. Taft. They proceeded to Naples, where they took the steamer Admiral for Mombasa, via the Suez Canal, reaching Mombasa April 21st. From there the party went into the jungle region, remaining until the spring of 1910,



and securing a large amount of big game, including elephants, lions and tigers.

Following the inauguration of President Taft on March 4th, 1909, the 61st Congress met in extra session on March 15th, at which time the President submitted a message calling for an immediate revision of the tariff in accordance with the pledges made in the party platform on which his campaign was based. In compliance with the request, or rather demand, made by President Taft, as his official message was very plain and outspoken in its insistence that the promises of the party to secure a revision of the tariff should be kept to the letter, the work of revision was taken up on March 17th, and the report of the House committee on ways and means adopted April 6th. The bill was reported to the Senate on April 12th, and debated for nearly three months, being finally passed July 29th, and approved by the President August 5th.

Hides, crude petroleum, and tea were placed on the free list, and the duties on coal, iron, lumber, gloves, print paper, wood pulp, cotton cloth, and some other articles reduced. The administration provisions for a corporation tax, maximum and minimum railway rates, a tariff board to advise with the President, a customs court, and maintenance of the drawback system with certain privileges to be enjoyed by millers importing wheat for the manufacture of flour, were adopted. The final vote in the House on the conference committee's report was 195 ayes and 183 nays. A great deal of opposition to the measure developed in the Senate, where the fight against the reductions asked for by the President was long and stubborn, and it was not until important compromises had been made that the contest of the Senate to the passage of the bill was obtained.

As a matter of plain truth it must be stated that

the measure failed to wholly satisfy either the supporters or the opponents of revision, it being at the best a sort of makeshift. It is well-known that the President was far from being pleased, feeling that the promises of the party made in the campaign by which he was elected had been trifled with, the country getting much less in the way of a reduction in tariff than it had been led to expect. It was the best, however, that could be obtained from Congress as then constituted, and the President finally signed the bill in lieu of something more satisfactory. Republican opponents of revision asserted that the reductions made were too great and virtually abolished the time-honored Republican doctrine of protection. Advocates of revision felt that the measure fell far short of giving the people any adequate relief from onerous taxation, while Democrats derided it as a joke, claiming that most of such fair reductions as were made were on articles but little used and would be of small benefit to consumers, while on articles of general consumption the reductions, with trifling exception, were wholly inadequate.

Just previous to dissolution in March, 1909, the 60th Congress increased the President's salary to \$75,000 a year, made an appropriation of \$12,000,000 for two new battleships, awarded gold medals to Orville and Wilbur Wright for exploits in aviation, granted \$800,000 for the relief of earthquake sufferers in Italy, and authorized the reenlistment of Companies B, C and D, 25th U. S. Infantry, mustered out of service by order of President Roosevelt for participation in what is known as "the Brownsville affair," the town of Brownsville, Texas, having been raided and "shot up" at night by a band of armed men. It was claimed by citizens of Brownsville that the raid was made by members of the 25th Infantry (colored) but, after a lengthy investigation no legal proof was

furnished. At the closing session of the 60th Congress the copyright law was also broadened and revised so as to afford more protection to both authors and publishers.

This year also saw the enactment by the states of Kansas and Nebraska of what are known as "bank guarantee" laws, patterned after that of Oklahoma. This, in brief, is legislation, by the provisions of which the various banks in these states guarantee the solvency of one another so far as money due depositors is concerned. Under these laws the depositors in state banks are guaranteed the return of their money in case of bank failure no matter how badly the bank may be involved. A guarantee fund for this purpose is raised, under state auspices, by levying an assessment on the average guaranteed deposits, less capital and surplus. In Kansas the assessment is one-twentieth of one percent, collectable not oftener than five times in any one year; in Nebraska one-fourth of one percent three times in 1910, and one-twentieth of one percent semi-annually thereafter; in Oklahoma the assessment is one percent of the average deposits, less state funds.

If a bank fails or suspends, or is seriously embarrassed in any way, it is the duty of the bank commissioner of the state to at once take charge of its affairs and administer them for the benefit of the creditors. Depositors take prior rank as creditors and must be paid in full before any other claims are liquidated. If the funds of the bank are insufficient for this purpose the bank commissioner draws on the guarantee fund to make up the deficit. While intended mainly as a protection to the depositors in state institutions provision is made for national banks to voluntarily avail themselves of the privilege of safeguarding their depositors through the guarantee fund.



At first the bankers in the states named did not take kindly to the guarantee law. They asserted that it was simply a means of making the sound banks stand sponsors for the weaker ones, giving the latter a credit they did not deserve, and penalizing the prosperous concerns with a liability incident to the dishonesty or bad methods of men who were not so honest, careful, or conservative as they might be. There was a lot of force in this argument, but the legislatures of the three states, in response to popular demand, overrode it, and now most of those who were in the beginning opposed to the plan are heartily in favor of it.

It was shown that the loss of deposited funds through the failure of a bank had an influence, direct or indirect, upon nearly all the other banks. People became timid and distrustful; they withdrew such moneys as they might have on deposit, regardless of the soundness of the banks they might be doing business with, or declined to entrust other funds to the keeping of the banks, preferring to hide them away at home. This quickly had a notable effect on the amount of money in circulation, reducing it considerably, and crippling business generally as the banks thus affected did not have the means of extending accommodations in the way of capital. The savings of widows and orphans, entrusted to supposedly honest men on deposit, were often stolen outright, or lost through bad investments. Whenever an incident of this kind occurred, although only one bank, and that an insignificant one, was involved, the entire financial community suffered to greater or lesser extent. Something had to be done to overcome the feeling of distrust that was becoming general all over the country, or the banking business would quickly dwindle into insignificance outside of the principal cities.

The state guarantee back of the banks in Kansas,

Nebraska and Oklahoma has served to revive confidence, to make the people certain their money is safe, and in this way to stimulate the business of those particular states, not only in banking circles, but also in many lines of manufacturing and commercial enterprises. In a way this guarantee operates somewhat after the manner of the Federal law which guarantees the face value of national bank notes so long as they are in circulation, regardless of the solvency of the bank by which they were issued. In the three states named the depositors in state banks are guaranteed the return of whatever amount of money they may have deposited no matter how badly crippled, or entirely bankrupt, the bank may be.

"It smacks of socialism," say some of the politicians and agitators who have been opposing the law and endeavoring (vainly) to have it repealed. Well, suppose it does? Call it socialism, or anything you please, so long as it operates to the benefit of the people at large it is worth preserving, and the guarantee law has thus far proven to be all, and even more, than was claimed for it.

Up to May 3d, 1909, it had been the ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission that, under the Hepburn act, a railway could transport any goods which it had itself mined, manufactured or produced. This position was taken by the commission under the "commodities clause" of the Hepburn act, the purpose of which was to prevent the railways from maintaining a monopoly in such goods as they might be interested in producing. Its enactment may be traced to an effort to break up the practice of railways which owned or controlled coal mines or other properties, marketing the products of these properties on their own account, it being claimed that this course effectively stifled competition and tended to concen-

trate trade in the hands of the railway managers to the detriment of other producers in similar lines. In support of this argument it was contended that, the cost of production being equal, the railways had an unfair advantage in the matter of rates, and that so long as they were allowed to merchandise their own products in the open market it was impossible to compete with them.

On May 3d, the matter having been brought to trial, the United States supreme court, while declaring the "commodities clause" constitutional, decided that the government's theory that a railroad could be prohibited from moving commodities merely because it had manufactured, mined, or otherwise produced them, was untenable. The court held that, where it could be shown that a railway, having produced goods, had disposed in good faith of such goods to a bona fide purchaser, it could not be stopped or punished for transporting them, and that the "commodities" clause would apply only when the railroad retained an interest in such goods. The sole object of the law, according to the supreme court, is to prevent common carriers being associated in an ownership interest at the time the commodities are transported. At the same time the court ruled that the holding by a railroad of stock in a producing company did not give the railroad what could be construed as an ownership interest.

It will be seen that this ruling does not disturb the legitimate application of the "commodities clause," but merely defines and makes explicit how it may be applied. It was an interpretation of the actual scope and intent of the law which was badly needed. Until it was filed there was a great deal of friction and misunderstanding as to what a railway might or might not do legally in the matter of moving goods in the production of which it had been interested.



The decision, which has been generally accepted as a most sensible one, made it clear that it was not the intent of the Hepburn act to bar railways from transporting goods they had produced, but simply to prevent them from building up and maintaining a monopoly in such goods by acting as producer, transporter and owner combined.

To hold to the contention that a railway could not transport the coal it had mined, for instance, would be to arbitrarily injure the earning power of the road. The ruling of the supreme court lays down the law to the effect that, so long as a road does not haul the coal to be sold on its own account, it cannot be interfered with. It may haul the coal for use on its own line, and for its own purposes, or it may haul it for parties to whom it has been bona fide sold before the actual act of transportation.

The year 1909 saw the beginning of actual mastery of the air with practical flying machines, not balloons, but heavier-than-air apparatus, propelled by their own motors and capable of being guided and driven in any desired direction. In the light of more recent developments the accomplishments of aviators in 1909 now seem weak and insignificant, but at that time they were truly marvellous. Between July 20th and October 9th, the Wright brothers, Orville and Wilbur, made a number of public flights which did much to remove doubt as to the practicability of the modern flying machine, and to establish the fact that the air could be navigated with as much ease and certainty as water.

Up to this time the Wrights had made such progress in the art of aviation as to attract world-wide attention, and on May 4th Congress voted to them gold medals in recognition of their work. These were presented at Dayton, Ohio, June 18th, by General James Allen, chief signal officer of the army.

The state of Ohio, and the city of Dayton also rewarded them with gold medals, as did the Aero club of America, the gift of the latter being handed to the Wrights by President Taft. In the meantime Congress had made an appropriation of \$25,000, with bonuses, for the best performance of an aeroplane suitable to the use of the army signal corps.

July 20th, 1909, the Wrights began working to secure this latter prize. They started with a record flight at Fort Meyer, near Washington, when Orville Wright, handling an aeroplane of the Wright type, remained in the air one hour and 20 minutes, traveling a distance of about seventy miles. During this trial he reached a height of some 260 feet, the greatest ever reached up to that time in America by a heavier-than-air machine. He also outlined the figure "8" in small circles three times, something never before successfully attempted. While this broke the record at that time it did not entirely comply with the army requirements.

Seven days later, July 27th, Oliver Wright made another flight, this time carrying Lieut. Frank P. Lahm, of the regular army, as a passenger. On this occasion he travelled a distance of 50 miles in one hour, 12 minutes, and 40 seconds. This established another new speed record, but was still short of the official army demand for a speed of forty miles an hour.

July 30th the prize was won. Orville Wright, with Lieut. Benjamin D. Foulois, of the army signal corps, made a ten-mile cross country flight in 14 minutes, 42 seconds, a rate of a little over 42 miles an hour, the machine rising to an altitude of 500 feet. Army experts decided that this met every requirement of the army test and the Wright machine was adopted for use by the signal corps. The Wrights also received

the \$25,000 prize, with a bonus of \$5,000 for exceeding a speed of forty miles an hour.

But this was not the end of flying machines achievements in 1909. The Wrights had won every possible honor and emolument, but they were not satisfied. Taking part in the Hudson-Fulton celebration at New York, September 29th, Wilbur Wright started from Governor's Island, flew around the statute of Liberty, then across the harbor to the New Jersey shore, and from there returning to the starting point. As this was an exhibition solely no official time was kept. October 4th Wilbur Wright, again starting from Governor's Island, flew up the Hudson river to Grant's tomb and back, a distance of twenty miles, in 33½ minutes. In some respects this was the most spectacular flight ever made, the machine passing in full view of the great fleets of foreign and American warships assembled in New York harbor at that time, and of thousands of spectators.

October 9th Wilbur Wright again surprised the world by flying at College Park, Md., a distance of nearly one and one-half miles in 58 3-5 seconds, or something like ninety miles an hour.

One of the greatest and most successful voyages ever made by a large naval fleet was brought to a close February 22d, when sixteen American war vessels, accompanied by six torpedo boats, and four auxiliary craft, returned to Hampton Roads after completing a cruise around the world. Starting on December 16th, 1907, from Hampton Roads, the harbor where it anchored at the finish, the fleet sailed a total distance of 42,227 miles, without the loss of a man, or a serious accident of any description. The route taken was from Hampton Roads down the eastern coast of South America to Cape Horn, thence into the Pacific ocean, and up the western coast to San Francisco. From the latter port the fleet made



Hawaii, and from there by way of New Zealand, Australia, Japan and China, to the Philippines, returning via the Suez canal.

It was announced that the cruise was one for practice only, and undertaken with the purpose of acquainting the force with actual sea conditions. It is well understood, however, that about the time the vessels started there was strong impression abroad that the American navy was a weak one, and not able to cope with that of any second rate power. This did not conduce to respect for the American flag abroad, and moreover was not to the liking of President Roosevelt who was then completing his last year in office. It is known that he desired to end his term as president with the country at peace with the world, a peace not won by debasing treaties and diplomatic dickerings, but by wholesome respect for American power. Under these conditions it is more than probable that the imposing display was a wise move to dispel any war clouds that might be gathering on the horizon. If so, it succeeded admirably, for it had the effect of silencing talk about the weakness of our navy, and of creating a wholesome respect for it.

At all foreign ports where the ships entered, the people and authorities were astonished, and there was universal praise for the fighting force and completeness of the equipment. The foreign press, begrudgingly it is true in some cases, gave praise to the nation which could spare such a mighty armada from its own shores, and the bloodless fight for peace was won. It was a costly trip, but it was much cheaper than war would have been.

On the return of the fleet President Roosevelt, who had witnessed its departure over a year previously, was on hand to welcome the crews. In addressing them he said: "Over a year has passed since you steamed out of this harbor and over the world's rim,

and this morning the hearts of all who saw you thrilled with pride as the hulls of the mighty warships lifted above the horizon. You have been in the northern and the southern hemispheres; four times you have crossed the line; you have steamed through all the great oceans; you have touched the coast of every continent. Ever your general course has been westward, and now you come back to the port from which you set sail. This is the first battle fleet that has ever circumnavigated the globe. Those who perform the feat again can but travel in your footsteps. You have falsified every prediction of the prophets of failure. In all your long cruise not a accident worthy of mention has happened to a single battle ship, nor to the cruisers or torpedo boats. You left this coast in a high state of battle efficiency, and you return with that efficiency increased; better prepared than when you left, not only in personnel, but even in material."

Significant words of warning, it may be said, to the foreign nations which about that time might possibly have thought that Uncle Sam was without adequate protection in a naval way, and that the coast of this country would be easy to attack and subdue.

The battle ships which took part in this memorable voyage were the Connecticut (flagship), Kansas, Vermont, Louisiana, Georgia, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Virginia, Minnesota, Ohio, Missouri, Maine, Alabama, Illinois, Kearsarge and Kentucky. When the fleet started it was under command of Rear Admiral Robley D. Evans, who was retired May 8th, 1908, being succeeded by Rear Admiral Charles M. Thomas, who served only seven days, when Rear Admiral Charles S. Sperry took command and remained in charge until the end of the cruise.

At the regular session of the 61st Congress in December President Taft submitted a message treating

of various national and international affairs. He reported the results of the second peace conference at the Hague, investigation of affairs in Liberia, settlement of the boundary dispute between Bolivia and Peru, course of the government in dealing with President Zelaya of Nicaragua, and reported progress on the securing by Americans of a substantial interest in Chinese railway enterprises with the main purpose of making sure of an "open door" policy in that country.

As regards internal affairs President Taft reported the total cost of completing the Panama Canal would be \$375,201,000, the increase from the original estimate of \$139,705,200 being due to a substantial enlargement of the entire work, and especially to a widening by 100 feet in the Culebra cut. He advocated the establishment of civil pensions for superannuated employes of the government; reported the appointment of a tariff board to investigate the workings of the new tariff laws; reported a decrease of \$45,000,000 in the army estimates for 1910, and of \$38,000,000 in the navy estimates; advocated changes in our court systems which would insure the speedier administration of justice; urged the speedy establishment of postal savings banks, and the passage of a ship subsidy bill with the purpose of encouraging the establishment of American lines between the Atlantic seaboard and the eastern coast of South America, and from the west coast of the United States to South America, China, Japan and the Philippines.

That part of the President's message dealing with Nicaraguan affairs is of special interest as disclosing the effect of the Zelayan administration on the progress of the Panama canal. There can be little doubt that Zelaya was disappointed when the United States government adopted the Panama route instead of the one through Nicaragua, as it deprived him of a



chance to enrich himself at the expense of this nation. President Taft did not refer to this phase of the matter directly in his message but, by reading between the lines, it is easy to see what he had in mind. He said:

“Since the Washington conventions of 1907 were communicated to the government of the United States as a consulting and advising party, this government has been almost continuously called upon by one or another, and in turn by all of the five central American republics, to exert itself for the maintenance of these conventions. Nearly every complaint has been against the Zelaya government of Nicaragua, which has kept Central America in constant tension or turmoil. The responses made to the representations of Central American republics, as due from the United States on account of its relation to the Washington conventions, have been at all times conservative and have avoided, so far as possible, any semblance of interference, although it is very apparent that the considerations of geographic proximity to the canal zone, and of the very substantial American interests in Central America, give to the United States a special position in the zone of these republics and the Caribbean sea.

“I need not rehearse here the patient efforts of this government to promote peace and welfare among these republics, efforts which are fully appreciated by the majority of them who are loyal to their true interests. It would be no less unnecessary to rehearse here the sad tale of unspeakable barbarities and oppression alleged to have been committed by the Zelaya government. Recently two Americans were put to death by order of President Zelaya himself. They were reported to have been regularly commissioned officers in the organized forces of a revolution which had continued many weeks, and

was proceeding in an orderly fashion in control of about half of the republic, and as such, according to the modern, enlightened practice of civilized nations, they would be entitled to be dealt with as prisoners of war.

"At the date when this message is printed this government is proceeding with deliberate circumspection to determine the exact truth in relation to these reports, and upon the course in the premises most consistent with its dignity, its duty to American interests, and its moral obligations to Central America and to civilization.

"The international bureau of American republics has carried on an important and increasing work during the last year. In the exercise of its peculiar functions as an international agency, maintained by all the American republics for the development of pan-American commerce and friendship, it has accomplished a great practical good which could be done in the same way by no individual department or bureau of one government, and is therefore deserving of your liberal support. The fact that it is about to enter a new building, erected through the munificence of an American philanthropist and the contributions of all American nations, where both its efficiency of administration and expense of maintenance will naturally be much augmented, further entitles it to special consideration."

While carefully avoiding any direct reference to President Zelaya's attitude of obstruction toward the Panama canal it is easy to read in President Taft's message that Zelaya was a mischief maker, and prone to stir up trouble in the canal zone. What his purpose was can only be guessed at. But it would not be unreasonable to suppose that, angered by the location of the canal in Panama, he was doing everything within his power to obstruct and hinder its

progress. Zelaya finally became so obstreperous and unpopular that he was forced to resign, which he did December 16th, 1909, and was succeeded by Dr. Jose Madriz, a dictator of the same stripe. Madriz ruled until the following August, when the people who had become incensed at his unfriendly attitude towards the United States, drove him from office. General Juan J. Estrada was proclaimed President, and since then the relations of Nicaragua and the United States have been much more amicable.

Nicaragua is the largest of the Central American republics in area, being 49,200 square miles in extent, but is one of the smallest in point of population and commercial importance. In 1910 it had 600,000 inhabitants. Its total trade with the United States amounted to \$2,360,098, of which \$1,004,811 was represented by exports, principally cattle and coffee, and \$1,355,287 by imports. These latter consisted largely of flour, wine, beer, barbed wire, cotton goods, sewing machines, kerosene, calico and tallow. The largest city is Leon, population 62,569. Managua, the capital, has a population of 34,872. Owing to its proximity to Panama a hostile government in Nicaragua would be a constant source of annoyance to the United States, especially if it should be headed by a malcontent like Zelaya. Since assuming the presidency in 1910, however, General Estrada has shown a disposition to be friendly with this country, and the embarrassing conditions which existed under his predecessor have been largely abolished.



## CHAPTER LXXXV.

1909

### ALLEGED DISCOVERY OF NORTH POLE.

**Rival Claims Made by Dr. Cook and Commander Peary.—Both Assert That Pole Had Been Located.—Details of the Explorations Made by Each.—Their Journeys From July 1st, 1907, to the Spring of 1909, Two Years Later.—Bitter Controversy as to Fact of Actual Discovery, and as to Priority.—Outcome of the Dispute.—Death of Edward H. Harriman.—His Enormous Operations in Railways.—The Methods That Won Success.**

One of the most sensational incidents in the history of the United States occurred in 1909 when Dr. Frederick A. Cook, and Commander Robert E. Peary, rival explorers, both laid claim to having discovered the north pole; to having actually and beyond question located the geographical spot that adventurous men had been striving to reach for centuries. There was much crimination and recrimination, not only between Cook and Peary themselves but their numberless adherents, each explorer asserting that the other was mistaken (to put it mildly) in his announced belief that the pole had been located. Lengthy investigations were made by scientific societies, but nothing definite in support of the claim of either man was established, and the world to-day remains in doubt as to whether anything like the result claimed was attained.

Dr. Cook sailed from Gloucester, Mass., in the schooner yacht John R. Bradley, July 1, 1907, in company with the owner, John R. Bradley, of New York. Mr. Bradley, an ardent sportsman, had arranged to spend the summer and fall fishing and shooting in northern latitudes, and the schooner also carried a

complete arctic equipment for the use of Dr. Cook should the latter decide to leave the vessel and push on to the north. This Dr. Cook did at Annatok, a few miles north of Etah, North Greenland, late in August, Rudolph Francke, cook on the Bradley, remaining with him. Leaving Cook and his supplies at Annatok Mr. Bradley resumed his pleasure trip, later returning to New York.

According to Dr. Cook's records he started from Annatok February 19th, 1908, with a party consisting of ten natives, Francke being left at Annatok. With a sledge train drawn by 103 dogs the party proceeded westward over Smith sound and Ellesmere land to Nansen sound, where it turned northward, moving along the eastern shore of Axel Heiberg land until the polar sea was reached. On March 17th six of the natives (Eskimo) were sent home, and two days later two more followed them. This reduced the Cook party to three men, including the natives Etukishook and Ahwelah. With this force the march northward was resumed. March 30th new land was seen to the westward in latitude 84.17 and longitude 86.36, but it was not explored, Cook, as he says, being anxious to confine his efforts to reaching the pole.

He reports that the object of his journey was attained on April 21st, 1908, when observations carefully made convinced him that he was resting on the actual site of the pole. There was no latitude, no longitude, no land, no sign of life of any kind. Two days were passed in taking observations, and on April 23d the march homeward was begun. In order to avoid the easterly drift Dr. Cook and his companions moved southwesterly to Crown Prince Gustav sea, the Firth of Devon and Jones sound to Cape Sparbo, in North Devon, where they went into winter camp. Here life was sustained by the efforts of the

Eskimos who killed musk oxen, bears and wolves with their bows and arrows.

February 18th, 1909, the party broke camp at Cape Sparbo, and moved on to Annatok by way of Smith sound, reaching there April 15th. Being anxious to acquaint the world with the news of his discovery, and to get back to civilization, Dr. Cook moved southward to the Danish settlements, arriving at Upernavik May 21st. Embarking on the Danish steamer Hans Egede, he sailed for Copenhagen, stopping at Lerwick, in the Shetland islands, (the nearest point of communication by wire) to send the message announcing that the pole had been found.

At Copenhagen, where Dr. Cook landed September 4th, he was received with great honors. The Danes, especially the members of the geographical society, gave him full credit for the discovery. Coming on to New York (September 21st) he was likewise received, and went on a lecture tour which netted him many thousands of dollars.

In the meantime Commander Peary, who was returning from a similar expedition, had heard of Cook's message claiming priority of discovery, and at once wired a statement of contradiction in which it was broadly intimated that Cook was untruthful and had never reached the pole, and was deliberately misleading the people. This started a bitter controversy, lasting for months. The records of both men were assailed, doubt was cast on both their stories, and in the end the public lost interest in their statements.

Peary sailed from Sydney, Nova Scotia, July 17th, 1908, on the steamer Roosevelt, specially fitted for an arctic voyage. This, it will be noted, was over a year after Cook had left Gloucester. Peary was accompanied by a number of scientists, including Prof. Ross G. Marvin, of Cornell university; George Borup,



of Yale, and D. D. McMillan, of Worcester, Mass. They reached Cape York, Greenland, August 1st, and went into winter quarters at Cape Sheridan, Grant land, September 1st. In February, 1909, the party pushed on to Cape Columbia, from which place, on March 1st, the dash for the pole was begun. The advance squad, at first, was led by Captain Bartlett commander of the Roosevelt. The entire party was transported in nineteen sledges drawn by 133 dogs.

Gradually various members of the party were sent back to the main station until on reaching latitude 87.48 only Peary, Matthew Hensen (his personal attendant) and four Eskimos remained. These six men went on, passing the 88th parallel of latitude April 2d, and the 89th two days later. According to Peary's statement the pole itself was reached April 6th, 1909, a little over one year after the date claimed by Cook. Peary and his companions passed some thirty hours at the supposed site of the pole taking observations, and exploring the surrounding expanse of ice. They report that no land was seen.

In returning the Peary party left the pole April 7th, traveling southeasterly to Cape Columbia on the northern shore of Grant land, which was reached April 23d. Four days later they were at Cape Sheridan, near the entrance to Robeson channel, where the steamer Roosevelt was in waiting to take them home. At Cape Sheridan it was learned that Prof. Marvin had been drowned April 10th while returning to Cape Columbia with the detachment which had been sent back from latitude 86.39, to which point he had broken the trail.

Leaving Cape Sheridan July 18th, the Roosevelt steamed homeward, touching at Indian Harbor September 5th, from which place Peary startled the world with the news of his claim to having discovered the pole. Coming so soon after word of the

same kind had been received from Cook—only four days had elapsed—the announcement caused a double sensation, and the entire world was soon ablaze with excitement. While giving credit for what he claimed to have done, there was much hostile criticism of his severe reflections on the integrity of Cook, his rival, and the time the Peary party landed in the United States, September 23d two well-divided camps had been formed. Like Cook, Commander Peary was enthusiastically received.

Demand was finally made that both explorers should submit their data and records of observations to competent authorities for investigation. Dr. Cook sent what data he had to the University of Copenhagen which late in December gave the following verdict:

“The documents handed the university for examination do not contain observations and information which can be regarded as proof that Dr. Cook reached the north pole on his recent expedition.”

The National Geographic Society, to which the Peary data was submitted, endorsed Peary's claim in strong language, to-wit. “Commander Robert E. Peary has reached the north pole, the goal sought for centuries.” It pronounced it the greatest geographical achievement the society could have opportunity to honor, and voted Peary a gold medal.

Despite this the controversy would not down, and adherents of the rival explorers continued a bitter warfare of words until Dr. Cook mysteriously dropped out of sight. This served to still the claims of his followers, and was taken as a virtual admission of guilt in attempting to foist upon the world a bogus claim to having discovered the pole. This was later strengthened by apparently well-sustained assertions that Cook had prevaricated in like manner in reporting that he had ascended to the summit of Mount

McKinley in 1906. At first Dr. Cook's claim to having scaled Mount McKinley was seemingly well authenticated, at least one man who was with him being reported as testifying to it. After the controversy with Peary began, however, an affidavit was secured from this man in which he swore that he did not accompany Cook to the summit, and always had doubt as to whether it was reached.

There are many peculiar things in connection with the affairs which seem to both contradict and support the stories told by each of the explorers. Neither one of them had any competent witness with him when he claims to have reached the pole and established the fact by taking astronomical observations. Cook was accompanied only by two uncivilized Eskimos, entirely ignorant of scientific data, and unable to tell when they had reached a given point except by landmark. Peary was in the same dilemma. His companions were also ignorant Eskimos, and a negro (Matthew Hanson) who had no scientific knowledge, and to whom an observation was unintelligible, so far as accurate transcription by himself is concerned. Neither man had anybody with him who could verify his assertions as to the accuracy of the observations regarding the exact latitude and longitude.

Peary asserted, right from the start of the controversy, that Cook had never reached the pole, giving as his main reason for making this charge the fact that it would be impossible to travel fifteen miles a day in the polar region as Cook must have done to reach the pole in the time stated. Allowing this to be so, what can be said of Peary's self-kept record which shows an average of twenty-six miles a day for five days—the last of his final dash for the pole? This discrepancy in speed of travel has never been explained, and the impartial critic must be forced to the belief that Peary and his party were possessed of unusual phy-



sical endowments. He refuses to give Cook credit for being able to make a speed of fifteen miles a day, and yet lays claim to making twenty-six miles a day himself. Verily the Peary equipage must have been gifted with a remarkable physical prowess.

Looked at from whatever angle you choose the whole affair is unfortunate. It creates in the minds of the public strong doubts as to the bona fides of both of the explorers. Despite the glowing endorsement of the National Geographic Society there is really no sound basis for establishing the claim that either Cook or Peary found the north pole. Neither of them produced anything like proof. Both made flamboyant claims, Peary's, if anything, being a little more absurd than Cook's. He wired (by wireless) from Indian Harbor, Labrador, on his return voyage, "Stars and Stripes nailed to pole." Could anything be more ridiculous? What could he nail it to? Nor was Cook the less open to charges of wild exaggeration. He claimed to have deposited certain documents, corroborative of the discovery, in a brass tube at the spot where the pole was supposed to be. For what purpose? Both Peary and Cook, as old, experienced arctic explorers, must have known that there is a constant movement of the ice in that region, and that anything left in a given spot would, in a few months time, be drifted many miles away. The whole affair is too preposterous for credence by ordinary mortals.

In recording actual history, in making a record of actual events, rather than manufacturing them, it will not be amiss to say that, despite the endorsement by scientists, there is much room for reasonable doubt as to whether either man really reached the spot where the pole is supposed to be located. The north pole (as well as the south pole,) is merely a geographical supposition. It has no actual exist-

ence, no tangible appearance. That there must be a place where the top of the globe is reached and from going north the explorer begins to descend southward is accepted by all who believe in the theory of the earth's rotundity, but no living man has as yet been able to present indisputable proof that this place has been seen by mortal eyes.

About a year later Dr. Cook was heard from in the form of a magazine article in which he admitted that there might be reasonable doubt as to whether he had reached the pole. In this article he described the conditions in the arctic circle as tending to produce temporary aberration, and frankly said that he himself was in doubt at times as to actually reaching the desired goal. In defense of his first claim he maintained that, if a mistake had been made, it was an honest one, due solely to mental excitement and disturbance, and without intention or purport of misleading the public.

Another year later, again writing in a magazine, he reiterated his claim to polar discovery, and insisted that he would, in reasonable time, prove his assertion in a manner that would admit of no question.

Edward Henry Harriman, one of the most widely known and successful of railway operators, died at his home, Tuxedo Park, N. Y., September 9th, from acute stomach trouble. Mr. Harriman, who was born at Hampstead, N. Y., February 25th, 1848, received only a common school education. He began his business career as a clerk in the office of a Wall street broker, and at 18 bought a seat on the New York exchange. His policy was to acquire railway stocks, and seldom dispose of them unless at a marked advance, when he would buy more heavily on the next material decline. At the time of his death he was reported to be worth \$100,000,000 and controlled companies operating 72,795 miles of road.

Contrary to the policies of many railway operators Mr. Harriman was a constructionist, rather than a mere speculator. He seldom, if ever, acquired control of a railway property that he did not at once set to work to rehabilitate and improve it, and in this he almost invariably succeeded. He first became widely known in the railway world by getting control of the Illinois Central line and ousting Stuyvesant Fish from the presidency. He had been operating in railways long before this, and had come to be looked upon as a power in this particular field, but it was not until he acquired control of the Illinois Central and executed the coup that dethroned the strong Fish dynasty that he attracted world-wide attention.

In 1893 the Union Pacific, badly handicapped by the extravagances and mismanagement of its previous administrations, got into serious financial trouble and its stock became a football on the market. Mr. Harriman quietly acquired control, reorganized the company, and placed it on a paying basis. The stock immediately became valuable and advanced in price until it sold as high as  $204\frac{3}{4}$ . This made of Mr. Harriman a king among railway financiers. On the death of Mr. C. P. Huntington, virtual owner of the Southern Pacific system, Mr. Harriman secured control of the Southern Pacific, Central Pacific, and allied lines, and proceeded to incorporate them into one harmonious whole with the Union Pacific. Previous to this there had been friction, especially between the Central and Union Pacific. Up to about 1882 the latter was completely at the mercy of the former in reaching the coast, the Union Pacific road ending at Promontory Point, Utah. In order to ensure an equal division of traffic the Northwestern, Rock Island, and Union Pacific polled their issues and formed what was known as the Tripartite Alliance, the first actual railway pool organized in the



world. It was an offensive and defensive alliance against the Central Pacific, which at that time was under a management hostile to the Union Pacific.

In order to make sure of an outlet to the Pacific coast should relations with the Central at any time become strained to the breaking point, the Union Pacific constructed from Granger, Wyoming, to Umatilla, Oregon, a branch known as the Oregon Short Line. This formed a connection between the main line of the Union Pacific at Granger, with the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company's line at Umatilla, enabling the Union Pacific and its allied roads to reach the coast by way of Portland. The Tripartite Alliance then served notice on the Central Pacific that, unless the Union Pacific was treated fairly in the matter of east-bound freights, all west-bound freights originating on, or passing over the three roads in the alliance would be diverted to the coast via Portland. It brought the managers of the Central to their senses, but the friction continued for years, and even after the Central had been absorbed into the Southern Pacific system.

This was the condition which faced Mr. Harriman when he secured control of the Southern Pacific. He at once bent all his energies to building up the various systems into one compact organization with a common purpose. While each system was allowed to retain its individuality and to compete for business, there was one supreme head over all, and that head was Edward Henry Harriman. He set himself a herculean task, but he performed it in a manner that commanded the respect and admiration of every fair-minded man. His first move was to abolish friction and to insist upon harmony of action. He then improved the physical properties so that, while the rates might be lowered to meet public demand, the earnings would be increased. And, above all, he in-

stituted and encouraged in every possible way the building up of business enterprises and farming communities along the lines in the system.

At the time of his death (he was then 61 years of age) Mr. Harriman was estimated to be worth \$100,000,000, all legitimately made in railway operation since he was 18 years old. In 1909 he controlled the following lines:

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| Southern Pacific system.....           | 9,592 miles  |
| Union Pacific system.....              | 5,989 miles  |
| Southern Pacific of Mexico.....        | 791 miles    |
| San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake.... | 512 miles    |
| St. Joseph & Grand Island.....         | 319 miles    |
| Illinois Central .....                 | 4,593 miles  |
| Central of Georgia.....                | 1,913 miles  |
| Baltimore & Ohio.....                  | 4,523 miles  |
| Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton.....     | 1,037 miles  |
| Delaware & Hudson.....                 | 845 miles    |
| Erie .....                             | 3,335 miles  |
| New York Central Lines.....            | 12,527 miles |
| Wheeling & Lake Erie.....              | 498 miles    |
| Wabash-Pittsburgh Terminal .....       | 67 miles     |
| Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe.....       | 10,608 miles |
| Chicago & Northwestern.....            | 7,632 miles  |
| Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul.....     | 9,005 miles  |

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Grand total .....72,795 miles

In comparing Mr. Harriman with other railway men who have made huge fortunes it should be remembered that he was essentially an operator. He never speculated in the ordinary sense; that is, he was not a gambler. He did not buy railways for the purpose of using them as shuttlecocks in the stock market. He was an investment speculator. He acquired control of railway properties by buying the stock and other securities when the price was

low, and then set himself to work to improve the earning power of the properties. In doing this he largely enhanced the value of his own holdings, and in this way became an enormously rich man, while at the same time aiding others who also held stock in his enterprises to profit by his operations.

From September 25th to October 9th New York celebrated the discovery of the Hudson river by Hendrick Hudson in 1609, and Robert Fulton's successful navigation of the same stream with the steamer Clermont in 1807. Novel features of the celebration were exact reproductions of the Clermont and Hudson's Half Moon. In the naval parade was the steamer Roosevelt in which Commander Peary had just returned from a successful polar trip, Peary himself being on the bridge of the craft as it passed up the river.



## CHAPTER LXXXVI.

1909—1910

### TAFT'S ADMINISTRATION—Continued.

Revolt Against Arbitrary Exercise of Power by Speaker of House.—Start of "Insurgency" Movement in Republican Party.—Increase of Dissatisfaction With Tariff Legislation.—Peculiarities that are Encountered.—Beginning of Pinchot-Ballinger Controversy.—Bold Charges Involving High Federal Official.—The Senator Lorimer Scandal.—Verdict of United States Senate Says Bribery Was Not Proven.—Great Political Upheaval; Its Causes and Results.

In taking formal leave of his colleagues in the House of Representatives, on February 18, 1909, Congressman Hepburn of Iowa (having been defeated for reelection by the Democratic nominee) unconsciously sowed the seed of a great revolt in the Republican party. In his farewell words Representative Hepburn made a strong plea for a rescinding of the "Reed rules," dating from the regime of Speaker "Tom" Reed, under which the speaker of the House is given power to name the members of all committees. He denounced these rules as giving the speaker an arbitrary power which was frequently abused.

Out of this grew a revolt by certain Republican members of Congress against what they denounced as "an usurpation of arbitrary power" on the part of the speaker. In this revolt the objecting Republicans who had by this time come to be designated as "insurgents," were joined by a majority of the Democratic members and became powerful enough to wrest from Speaker Cannon, by a vote of the House, the naming of the committee on rules. Shorn of this

power the speaker was greatly limited in his ability to curtail the action of those who were opposed to him. Previous to the open revolt Speaker Cannon had named the members of the committee on rules, and the committee thus constituted framed rules which would be acceptable to the speaker. Under the new plan adopted by the House of Representatives of the Sixty-first Congress the members of the committee are named by the House, and the speaker has no voice in their selection except so far as he may be able to influence the action of individual members. The adoption of this plan was considered a marked advance in political freedom; a sort of release from the bondage of party leaders.

Among the Representatives who were instrumental in bringing about this change were Victor Murdock, Rep., of Kansas; Champ Clark, Dem., of Missouri; A. J. Gronna, Rep., No. Dakota; G. N. Haugan, Chas. E. Pickett, F. P. Woods, J. A. Good, and N. E. Kendall, Reps., Iowa; E. A. Hayes, Rep., Calif.; M. Poindexter, Rep., Wash.; C. A. Lindbergh, A. J. Volstead, and C. R. Davis, Reps., Minn.; W. J. Cary, H. A. Cooper, and J. M. Nelson, Reps., Wisconsin; C. N. Fowler, Rep., New Jersey; George W. Morris, Rep., Nebraska.

While the Senate had no voice in the making of the House rules, the men who revolted against Speaker Cannon received material support from an influential coterie of Senators headed by such men as Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin; Beveridge, of Indiana, and Dolliver, of Iowa. The attitude of these men made it plain to the leaders of the Republican party that the revolt in the House was more than a mere local affair, and would affect the party throughout the United States. It was not alone a movement for a full, fair hearing on the floor of the House, but it was a protest against the adoption of a tariff bill

that was in conflict with the promises made in the party platform.

While no outright pledge of a revision downward was made in the platform it was held that such a pledge was intended, especially by that portion which read: "the aim and purpose of the Republican policy being not only to preserve, without excessive duties, that security against foreign competition to which American manufacturers, farmers and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wage earners of this country who are the most direct beneficiaries of the protective system."

Over this clause there has resulted long and bitter dispute, one faction asserting that the promise here made and existing conditions warranted a revision downward, while another faction just as stoutly insisted that these same factors warranted an advance in some duties, and a strict maintenance of those not advanced. The exact language of the tariff plank in the Republican platform of 1908 is as follows:

"The Republican party declares unequivocally for a revision of the tariff by a special session of Congress immediately following the inauguration of the next President, and commends the steps already taken to this end in the work assigned to the appropriate committees of Congress which are now investigating the operation and effect of existing schedules. In all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries. We favor the establishment of maximum and minimum rates to be administered by the President under limitations fixed in the law, the maximum to be available to meet discriminations by foreign countries against



American goods entering their markets and the minimum to represent the normal measure of protection at home; the aim and purpose of the Republican policy being not only to preserve, without excessive duties, that security against foreign competition to which American manufacturers, farmers and producers are entitled, but also to maintain the high standard of living of the wage earners of this country, who are the most direct beneficiaries of the protective system. Between the United States and the Philippines we believe in a free interchange of products with such limitations as to sugar and tobacco as will afford adequate protection to domestic interests."

Out of the differences arising over the tariff plank, and the adoption of the tariff law of 1909, may be traced all of the friction now existing between the Republican factions in Congress. The dispute over the rules which resulted in the overthrow of Speaker Cannon, was a minor affair in comparison with the split in the Republican party which has resulted from the adoption of the Aldrich-Payne tariff bill. The measure is thus termed because it was fathered by Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, of Rhode Island, in the Senate, and by Representative Sereno E. Payne, of New York, in the House. Whatever of friction may have been caused by the alleged arbitrary actions of Speaker Cannon, was removed to an appreciable extent by taking the power of appointing the committee on rules out of the Speaker's hands, and recommitting it to the House. The friction engendered over the adoption of the tariff bill is more deep seated, and fraught with more serious results to the Republican party.

Going before the people with the argument that party pledges had not been kept, the leaders of the insurgent movement were able to command a follow-

ing of such size and importance as to give the managers of the Republican party grave apprehension of impending defeat at the next presidential election, provided the Democrats are unified in the support of some able, broad-minded man. It is generally conceded that the effect on the congressional elections at least will be disastrous to many Republican members of Congress who have an ambition to serve their constituents still further at Washington. It is the first organized revolt of real magnitude and importance in the history of the party and appears to be growing instead of subsiding.

Many things, among them the abnormally high prices of food necessities, have been seized upon and skilfully used as arguments by those who are demanding a revision of the tariff downward. It is a peculiar fact that most of the support of the men at the head of the insurgent movement comes from among the farmers of the country, the class that would be the first to be unfavorably affected (in the price of their products) by any wholesale lowering of the duties. In this one respect the farming classes appear to be inconsistent. They want a lower tariff on all manufactured goods which they buy, but stoutly oppose reductions on what they have to sell.

The more the tariff question is studied, the more proof is had that General Winfield Scott Hancock, the Democratic nominee for President against Garfield in 1880, was right when he said "The tariff is a local issue," although at the time this utterance was made all the Republican orators and the Republican press throughout the country held Hancock up to scorn as a man entirely devoid of common sense in connection with tariff affairs. Strong proof that Hancock was correct is now to be had on every hand. The iron workers of Pennsylvania and Alabama, for instance, insist upon the protection of that industry

by a high tariff, while just as stoutly insisting that the duties on beef and grain (which they do not raise in any quantities) should be lowered so as to give them cheaper food supplies. The cattle and grain growers of the West, on the other hand, want free iron and a stiff duty on their own products. The South would like cheaper cattle and grain, but thinks the duties on cotton and sugar low enough, while the people of other sections of the country think them too high.

This is one of the phases of tariff legislation that makes it difficult, practically impossible, to secure anything like an equitable and fair all-around tariff law. Every congressman, as a matter of political preservation at home (to ensure re-election) will resist to the utmost any attempt to lower the duties on products turned out in his home district, while at the same time bending every effort to obtain reductions on materials produced elsewhere. It is on official record that congressmen who were committed to free trade have in this way become ardent protectionists when the industries of their home districts were under consideration.

The year 1909-1910 will long be memorable as giving birth to the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy. In the fall of 1909, Gifford Pinchot, chief forester, an appointee of President Roosevelt, acting on reports made by L. W. Glavis, an attache of the general land office, accused Secretary of the Interior Ballinger, of acting in the interests of people who were trying to make fraudulent entries of valuable public lands in Alaska. These lands, rich in minerals and timber, it is alleged were being confiscated from the public domain by what is known as the Guggenheim syndicate, through the operations of an agent named Cunningham, and that Ballinger, although advised as to the operations of the syndicate, did nothing to re-



strain them, but on the other hand made these operations easier.

By December 21st, 1909, the controversy had assumed such serious proportions that Congress voted to make a thorough inquiry. Ballinger at the same time urged quick action. It was a matter of general knowledge that the 61st Congress, which would have the appointment of the committee, and the general conduct of the investigation in charge, was opposed to the conservation policy of former President Roosevelt, and friendly to Ballinger, the Secretary of the Interior appointed by President Taft. The charges made by Mr. Glavis were to the effect that the course pursued by Ballinger was detrimental to a proper conservation policy and endangered the public domain.

Immediately following this—on December 22d, 1909—Secretary Ballinger retaliated by charging Pinchot and Glavis with pernicious activity, alleging that their conduct was unbecoming public officials, and prejudicial to good government inasmuch as they had gone over his head in making their reports, and submitted them to the President direct. This brought out from Pinchot and Glavis the statement that Ballinger had ignored previous reports to the same effect, and that they would have been recreant to their trusts as public officials if they had not made an honest effort to place the facts at the disposal of Ballinger's superior.

The matter dragged along until January 2d, 1910, when Congress decided that a committee of six Senators and six Representatives should investigate the dispute. The results, as well as subsequent developments, will be given later on in the proper chronological order.

In May, 1909, William Lorimer, then, and for many years previously a representative in Congress from

a Chicago district, was elected United States Senator to succeed Albert J. Hopkins, by a combination of Republican and Democratic members of the Illinois legislature. The contest was a long and memorable one, a deadlock existing about four months. Hopkins had been endorsed for reelection by popular vote, but a substantial majority of the members of the legislature was opposed to him, and it was impossible for him to obtain the necessary number of votes in that body. For months the legislators voted first for one man, and then for another, without result. Governor Deneen was appealed to by Mr. Lorimer to become a candidate himself, (this he admitted on the witness stand), and was promised the hearty support of the Lorimer following, but declined. Finally, on May 26th, without advance warning, the name of William Lorimer was sprung and he was chosen senator, receiving 108 votes. Of these 55 were Republican, and 53 Democratic.

On April 30th of the following year (1910) Representative Charles A. White, of O'Fallon, Ill., sold to the Chicago Tribune a sensational story in which he claimed that he and others had received money for voting for Mr. Lorimer. The matter was at once taken up by public prosecutors in various parts of Illinois. Lee O'Neil Browne, of Ottawa, Ill., the leader of the Democratic faction in the House, was indicted May 6th, in Chicago, on the specific charge that he had paid \$850 to White for his vote for Lorimer. Representatives Robert E. Wilson, of Chicago, Michael S. Link, of Mitchell, State Senator John Broderick, D. W. Holstlaw, Stanton C. Pemberton, and Representative Joseph S. Clark, were also indicted for similar offenses alleged to have been committed in connection with the election of Mr. Lorimer, the charge against Browne and Broderick

being bribery and against the others conspiracy to commit bribery.

The case against Browne was tried first (June 7th at Chicago). The trial lasted seventeen days and the jury, after being out nearly 116 hours, was unable to agree. Browne was placed on trial the second time August 1st, and was acquitted September 9th.

Shortly after White's story was printed in the newspapers Mr. Lorimer, of his own volition, requested the United States Senate to investigate the charges, and on June 20th that body adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the committee on privileges and elections of the senate, or any subcommittee thereof, be authorized and directed to investigate certain charges against William Lorimer, a senator from the state of Illinois, and to report to the senate whether, in the election of said William Lorimer as a senator of the United States from said state of Illinois, there were used or employed corrupt methods or practices; that said committee or subcommittee be authorized to sit during the sessions of the senate and during any recess of the senate or of congress, to hold its sessions at such place or places as it shall deem most convenient for the purposes of the investigation, to employ a stenographer, to send for persons and papers and to administer oaths, and that the expenses of the inquiry shall be paid from the contingent fund of the senate upon vouchers to be approved by the chairman of the committee."

The matter was at once taken up by the committee on privileges and elections and a subcommittee named to conduct the investigation. This subcommittee consisted of:

Republican senators—J. C. Burrows, Michigan, chairman; W. P. Dillingham, Vermont; Robert J. Gamble, South Dakota; Weldon B. Heyburn, Idaho.



Democratic senators—James B. Frazier, Tennessee; Thomas Paynter, Kentucky; Joseph H. Johnston, Alabama.

Senator Dillingham was unable to serve and Senator Morgan G. Bulkeley of Connecticut was appointed to take his place. The committee met in Chicago and, after some delay, began the taking of testimony, September 26th. Senator Lorimer was represented by Attorneys Elbridge Hanecy and P. H. O'Donnell and his accusers by Attorney Alfred S. Austrian. The committee continued the investigation in Chicago until October 8th, when it adjourned. It met in Washington and December 12th decided that the charges were not sustained.

Disaffection over Republican tariff policies which, as previously stated, had begun to take definite form early in 1909, spread very fast and a forecast of the great change in public opinion regarding this and a number of collateral matters, was given September 12th, when the Democrats carried Maine by 8,732, electing F. M. Plaisted, their nominee for governor, and also obtaining a majority in both branches of the legislature, controlling that body by 36 votes. Two years previously, in 1908, the Republicans carried the state by 7,653.

So pronounced was the feeling of disaffection among the people all over the country that the revolt indicated by the result of the Maine election in September found further and even more forceful expression in the general elections held on November 8th. New York, Massachusetts, and other states which had been looked upon as being reasonably sure to return Republican majorities wheeled into the Democratic column. The former elected a Democratic governor (Dix) by 67,663, and the latter a Democratic governor (Foss) by 35,179. In Cook county, Illinois, which for many years had been solidly Republi-

can, the Democrats, with two minor exceptions, made a clean sweep, capturing all the important offices and a large amount of political patronage.

The results in the country at large gave the Democrats a majority of 64 in the national House of Representatives, and made certain the undisputed control of the lower branch of Congress by that political party for the next two years.

## CHAPTER LXXXVII.

1910

### DEATH OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE FOUNDER.

**Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy.** — Her Work in Founding Christian Science. — Wonderful Growth of the Movement. — Thirteenth Census of the United States. — Population of Over 93,000,000 in 1910 Shown by Official Figures. — Gain of Nearly 16,000,000 in Ten Years. — State With Largest Increases. — Remarkable Advances Made in Aviation. — New Records Established. — Hoxsey's World's Altitude Flight. — Three Prominent Operators Killed.

Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy, founder of Christian Science, and in many respects one of the most remarkable women in the world, died at Newton, Mass., December 3, 1910, from pneumonia. She was born at Bow, New Hampshire, July 16, 1821, and was therefore 89 years old at the time of her death. Whatever may be thought of Mrs. Eddy's religious views and teachings it must be admitted that she was a very exceptional woman; one of intense mental powers, and wonderful executive ability. She was a past mistress in the art of convincing argument, and in the field of polemics had few, if any, equals.

Starting the Christian Science movement with seven followers in 1866, in forty-four years she secured a following of over one million adherents who now own and occupy 1,059 churches in which the Christian Science faith is taught. While the movement was started in 1866, it was not until 1879 any real progress was made, that year witnessing the organization of First Church of Christ Scientist, with seventeen members. From this have sprung 742 chartered and 317 otherwise originated churches.



The mother church was located in Boston. It was organized with William D. Baldwin, of New York, as president; John V. Dittmore, Boston, Mass., clerk; and Stephen A. Chase, Fall River, Mass., treasurer. Christian Science churches have no pastors. "Readers," who expound the doctrine as laid down by Mrs. Eddy, are chosen periodically, and all during the life of this wonderful woman it was her views and preachings only that were promulgated. And this remains good to-day. Nothing could speak more convincingly for the hold she had upon her followers. To doubt, or attempt to controvert anything Mrs. Eddy said in a religious sense was heresy.

That there were parasites who, trading upon her name, and without her knowledge, did the movement a great deal of irreparable injury is undeniable. That Mrs. Eddy herself made money is also undeniable, but she accumulated it in a legitimate way, principally by her writings and publications. Her estate was a large one, several millions of dollars it is reported, but she left the larger part of it to the church she founded.

Even those who differ with the teachings of the Eddy cult—that belief in God, and the leading of a righteous life, makes the interposition of artificial aids like the services of doctors, etc., unnecessary—admit that Mrs. Eddy was an earnest, truthful, God-fearing woman whose influence was for good. Whether she was inspired by God as many assert is a question open to debate.

The thirteenth census of the United States and possessions, taken in 1910, gave a total population of 93,346,543, including Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico. The population of the United States proper (without Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico) was 91,972,266, a gain of 15,977,691 in the ten years intervening since 1900. The greatest percentage of increase (120.4)

was in Washington. Oklahoma ranks next with an increase of 109.7; Idaho third with 101.3; Nevada fourth, 93.4; and North Dakota fifth with 80.8. Iowa showed a slight loss—3.

None of the states showing a large percentage of increase, however, can show anything like the actual gain in numbers as some of the older communities like New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois, the percentage being based on the relation of the growth to the original population in 1900. Thus, Idaho, in 1900 had only 161,772 inhabitants. In 1910 the number was 325,594. In 1900 New York had 7,268,894, which by 1910 had grown to 9,113,614. Here we have an actual increase of 1,844,520 in New York, as against only 163,822 in Idaho, and yet the percentage of growth in the latter state is much the largest, New York having only 25.4 percent.

Study of the increase in percentages is of more interest and worth to the student in economics than the actual increase in population shown by numbers. While all the states, with exception of Iowa, are growing so far as the number of inhabitants is concerned, there has been a great change in the last ten years in the direction of this growth. In Oklahoma, for instance, the increase between 1890 and 1900 was 205.6 percent. For the ten years from 1900 to 1910 it dropped to 109.7 percent. Indiana also shows a falling off from 14.8 in 1900 to 7.3 in 1910. Minnesota during the same period dropped from 33.7 to 18, and yet all these states made substantial gains.

In the United States proper the percentage increase for the period from 1900 to 1910 was 21.0, while for the same time ending in 1900 it was 20.7. Alaska did not grow much between 1900 and 1910. In 1890 it had 32,052 inhabitants; in 1900, 63,592; and in 1910, 64,356. The percentage of increase between 1890 and 1900 was 98.4, but between 1900 and 1910

it was only 1.2. Hawaii, which showed a gain in 1900 of 71.1 over 1890, showed only 24.6 in 1910.

When the census of 1900 was taken there were 21,250,862 males of voting age. Of these 16,163,556 were native born, and 5,087,306 foreign born, or nearly one-third. The total vote cast for President in 1908 was only 14,887,594. The number of illiterates in the country was 2,325,320. Of these 65,556 were in New York city; 20,572 in Chicago; 17,588 in Philadelphia; 7,026 in St. Louis; 8,111 in Boston; 10,152 in Baltimore, and 5,786 in Cleveland. The official figures for 1910 are not available at this writing.

Aviation history was made fast in 1910. Wonderful as were the achievements of the Wrights in 1909, they were dwarfed into insignificance. September 12th Ralph Johnstone, operating a Wright biplane, set a new record for endurance at the Harvard-Boston aero meet, remaining in the air and under motion for three hours, four minutes and forty-four seconds. A few days later, September 29th, Walter Brookins, also using a Wright biplane, flew from Washington park, Chicago, to Springfield, Ill., a distance of 188 miles, in five hours and forty-nine seconds of actual flying time. He occupied seven hours and ten minutes in making the trip, the difference representing two stops made on the way for oil and gasoline. The weather was clear and moderately warm, with a fifteen mile wind blowing from the south. Brookins' course was southwest. He received \$10,000 for making the trip.

October 8th Arch Hoxsey, using the same machine that Brookins did, flew from Springfield to St. Louis, crossing the Mississippi near the mouth of the Missouri. The distance, 76 miles, was covered in two hours and twenty minutes. Hoxsey and Brookins



both averaged about the same speed, 33 miles an hour.

Long previous to this Glenn H. Curtiss, using a machine of his own make, and contending for a prize of \$10,000, flew from Albany to New York, along the Hudson river, on May 29th, a distance of 137 miles, in two hours and thirty-two minutes, averaging 54.06 miles an hour.

Charles K. Hamilton, in a Curtiss aeroplane, left Governor's island, New York, at 7:35 a. m. June 13th, and alighted in aviation field at North Penn Junction, Philadelphia, at 9:26 a. m., having covered a distance of eighty-eight miles in one hour and fifty-one minutes without a stop. Starting on the return trip at 11:30 a. m., he had flown approximately seventy miles when the spark plugs of his motor fouled and he was compelled to descend in a swamp near South Amboy, N. J., at 12:55 p. m. The propeller was broken in making the landing, but a new one was secured from Governor's island and, resuming the flight at 6:20 p. m., Mr. Hamilton landed at the starting point at 6:39 p. m. The actual flying time for the round trip of 176 miles was 207 minutes, the average speed on the return part of the journey being 54.96 miles an hour. The aviator by this performance won a prize of \$10,000 offered by the New York Times and the Philadelphia Public Ledger for an aeroplane flight from New York to Philadelphia and back within twenty-four hours.

The Chicago Evening Post and the New York Times offered a prize of \$30,000 for an aeroplane flight from Chicago to New York. A number of Curtiss machines were entered and some creditable preliminary work was done at the Hawthorne race-track at Chicago, October 1st-8th. Only one man made a start, however, and the "race" proved a fizzle. Eugene Ely left Hawthorne Sunday afternoon, Octo-

ber 9th, but his engine broke down and he was forced to descend at Beverly Hills, only nine miles away. He started again on Monday, but after a number of mishaps was obliged to give up the race at East Chicago, some twenty miles from Hawthorne.

On Christmas day, December 25th, Arch Hoxsey, in an altitude flight made with a Wright machine at Los Angeles, Calif., attained a height of 11,474 feet, or 975 feet more than the previous world's record of 10,499 feet, made by LeGagneux, at Pau, France. The ascent was made in a 40-mile gale.

But, while 1910 was replete with startling and wonderful accomplishments in the line of aviation, it was not without its distressing disasters. While making flights on December 31st Arch Hoxsey and John B. Moissant were both killed, the former at Los Angeles, and the latter at New Orleans. November 17th Ralph Johnstone was killed at Denver, Colo., three of the best known and most successful men in the business thus passing out of existence in a little over one month. Fortunately there are no other fatal accidents to record for this year in American aviation.

Another distressing occurrence in 1910 was the loss of twenty-four members of the Chicago fire department, including Chief Marshal James Horan, all of whom were killed by the collapse of a wall during a fire at Morris & Co.'s packing plant, Union Stock Yards, on December 22d. A number of other firemen were seriously injured by falling bricks and timbers.

The people of Chicago raised, by public subscription, a fund of \$211,000 for the relief of the families of the firemen killed in this catastrophe, and the handling and distribution of this fund gave rise to a bitter legal controversy. The trustees, headed by Harlow H. Higginbotham, insisted that the benefi-

aries were entitled only to the interest on the fund; that the principal should be kept intact and the income divided in the form of pensions. The courts finally decided that the entire fund should be distributed among the beneficiaries at once, and that the trustees had no right to retain it. In making this decision the courts pointed out the danger, that, in time, all the beneficiaries might die off, and that the trustees would then be left in undisputed possession of \$211,000 (the principal) which the donators did not intend should come into their permanent keeping.



## CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

1910

### RENEWAL OF PINCHOT-BALLINGER CONTROVERSY.

Taft Dismisses Chief Forester Pinchot From the Public Service.—Latter's Efforts to Save Government Lands.—Part Taken by Secretary Ballinger in Scandal Over Alleged Fraudulent Entries.—Valuable Coal Tracts in Alaska Sought by Corporations.—Ballinger's Previous Position as Attorney for Claimants.—Congressional Investigation.—Committee Divides on Report.—Attitude of Mr. Roosevelt.—Roosevelt's Return From Africa.

January 7th, 1910, new interest was given to the dispute between Secretary of the Interior Ballinger and Chief Forester Pinchot over conservation matters, by the summary removal of the latter from office. The order of dismissal was issued by Secretary of Agriculture Wilson under personal instructions from President Taft, the immediate excuse for Pinchot's removal being a letter which he had written to United States Senator John P. Dolliver, of Iowa.

Previous to this L. R. Glavis, an attache of the public land office, who sustained Pinchot in the latter's course for the conservation of the public domain, had been likewise removed from office for making public charges against Ballinger in connection with certain public coal lands in Alaska. Overton W. Price, assistant forester, and Alexander Shaw, assistant law officer, under Pinchot, had assisted Glavis in preparing the charges and it was for allowing them to do this, and for writing the letter to Senator Dolliver, that the chief forester was dismissed. In notifying Pinchot of his action the President, in a written communication, said:

"Your letter was in effect an improper appeal to Congress and the public to excuse in advance the guilt of your subordinates before I could act, and against my decision in the Glavis case before the whole evidence on which that was based could be considered. \* \* \* By your own conduct you have destroyed your usefulness as a helpful subordinate of the government, and it therefore now becomes my duty to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to remove you from your office as forester."

Mr. Pinchot, while chief forester under President Roosevelt had, with the latter's sanction, in 1907, recommended to Secretary of the Interior Garfield (James R.) the withdrawal from entry of certain tracts of public lands not contained in the forest reserves. His announced object in doing this was to prevent these lands from falling into the possession of monopolies through fraudulent entries, it having become a matter of wide-spread scandal that large parts of the most valuable public lands were in this way being acquired for purely speculative purposes. Secretary Garfield approved Mr. Pinchot's recommendation, but when Mr. Ballinger became Secretary of the Interior under President Taft he declined to carry out the plan, holding that it would be usurping a power vested solely in Congress. In this he was sustained by Attorney General Wickersham. Secretary Ballinger then restored to entry thousands of acres which had been withdrawn from settlement by his predecessor.

This increased the scandal, especially as regards entries which had been made on lands in Alaska. In 1907, and this was one of the cases on which Mr. Pinchot made his recommendation, Special Agent H. T. Jones, of the government service, had reported that in his opinion thirty-three entries, covering 5,280 acres of coal lands near Katalla, Alaska, had

been fraudulently made in the interests of the Guggenheim mining syndicate. These lands were estimated to contain fully 63,000,000 tons of coal, valuable timber, and water-power rights, and to control the only accessible harbor in that part of Alaska. Mr. L. R. Glavis, chief of the field division for the general land office, on investigation, learned, in January, 1908, that they had been listed for patents, and that title was about to issue. He made a protest and the listing was suspended while the investigation was continued.

At that time, Mr. Ballinger, who was commissioner of the general land office, and the superior of Glavis, urged the House of Representatives to pass a bill introduced by Delegate Cale, of Alaska, allowing the claims to be consolidated. This was done, but not until, at the suggestion of Secretary of the Interior Garfield, it had been amended so as to limit the right of consolidation solely to those who made entry in their own interests and not as the agents of others. It will thus be seen that even at that time Mr. Ballinger was working at cross purposes to other public officials and pursuing a course hostile to the policy of the Roosevelt Administration.

It has been a matter of much adverse comment that Mr. Ballinger, on resigning his position as head of the general land office, became the attorney for the Cunninghams, the parties who are alleged to have made the entries in behalf of the Guggenheim syndicate. This, it was asserted by government officials, was in direct violation of the Federal statute which prohibits any official or employee of the government from acting as attorney in the prosecution of any claim pending in the department with which he was connected until two years after he has severed his connection with such department. Despite this Mr. Ballinger acted openly as attorney for the



claimants, and prepared and filed on their behalf a brief with the Interior Department.

In March, 1909, having been called by President Taft to enter the latter's cabinet as Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Ballinger resigned as attorney for the Cunninghams, and turned the case over to the first assistant secretary of the department, Frank Pierce, to be acted upon. The latter decided in favor of his superior's former clients, but his finding was overruled by Attorney General Wickersham. The commissionership of the general land office had in the meantime been given to Fred Dennett, and the Cunninghams took advantage of the old law to bring the case before him. Glavis was instructed by Dennett to push his investigation and proceeded to do so. He had not made much progress when he was suddenly replaced by Special Agent Sheridan, whose report endorsed that of Glavis and requested a postponement for a hearing of the Cunningham cases.

In the meantime the forestry office, having learned that the Cunningham claims were included in a national forest reserve, had begun an investigation on its own account. At the request of Mr. Glavis on July 22d, Assistant Forester Price and Law Officer Shaw went to the general land office and asked for the record in the cases. This at first was refused, but later granted. It was on the evidence thus adduced that Mr. Pinchot wrote the letter to Senator Dolliver which resulted in his dismissal. Mr. Pinchot, in this letter admitted that the action of Price and Shaw was improper, but contended that the reprimand he gave them was sufficient, considering the fact that they had rendered a valuable service to the government, the disclosures thus produced tending to verify the charges that fraudulent entries had been made.

Secretary Ballinger brought the matter to the attention of President Taft while the latter was at his summer home at Beverly, Mass. Mr. Taft responded with an order for the discharge of Glavis without further investigation, and later dispensed with the services of Mr. Pinchot. There can be no doubt but that both Glavis and Pinchot were valuable men in the safeguarding of the public interests, but they appear to have run counter to the interests of those who were engaged in obtaining control of the public domain, and the latter seemed to be all-powerful with Mr. Ballinger and the Taft administration.

After the dismissal of Glavis and Pinchot the former wrote a number of newspaper and magazine articles explanatory of his attitude, and Mr. Pinchot made speeches in the same line. They made it so unpleasant for Mr. Ballinger that the latter asked for a Congressional investigation. Under the resolution as passed, which was amended so as to provide for the election of the House members by the House instead of being appointed by the Speaker, the following committee was named, the Senators being appointed by the Vice President, and the Representatives selected by vote in party caucus:

Senators—Knute Nelson, Rep., Minnesota, chairman; Frank P. Flint, Rep., California; George Sutherland, Rep., Utah; Elihu Root, Rep., New York; Duncan U. Fletcher, Dem., Florida; William E. Purcell, Dem., North Dakota.

Representatives—Samuel McCall, Rep., Massachusetts; Martin E. Olmsted, Rep., Pennsylvania; Edwin Denby, Rep., Michigan; Edmond H. Madison, Rep., Kansas; James M. Graham, Dem., Illinois; Ollie M. James, Dem., Kentucky.

After a long session, lasting from January 26th to May 20th, and continued later at St. Paul for four days, this committee, consisting of eight Republicans

and four Democrats, was unable to agree upon a report. Among the witnesses examined were L. R. Glavis, Gifford Pinchot, Secretary Ballinger, Secretary Wilson, F. M. Kerby, and others. Despite the fact that Chairman Nelson ruled that no quorum was present at the St. Paul meetings the Democratic members of the committee formulated and published a report holding that the charges made against Secretary Ballinger were sustained in every particular, that Ballinger had betrayed his official trust in connection with aiding land grabbers, and was also guilty of duplicity in his conduct toward President Taft. This report wound up as follows:

"That Richard A. Ballinger has not been true to the trust reposed in him as Secretary of the Interior, that he is not deserving of public confidence and that he should be requested by the proper authorities to resign his office."

The four Democratic members of the committee signed this report. Representative Madison, of Kansas, (Rep.) did not sign it, but made a report of his own which was the same in substance. He denounced Secretary Ballinger as an unfaithful official and urged his dismissal from office. Publication of these statements produced another storm. Six of the Republican committeemen, Senators Nelson, Sutherland and Root, and Representatives McCall, Olmsted and Denby, issued a counter statement to the effect that the report of the minority was a prejudiced, partisan one, put forth with the purpose of injuring the reputation of a public official and to obtain an advantage in an impending political campaign. "The committee, as a whole," these gentlemen went on to say, "is not to report until Congress meets on December 4th. Our meetings in September were for the purpose of considering what this report was to be, and the action of the Democratic minority in taking ad-



vantage of the failure of some members in reaching this meeting was merely a prearranged scheme to defeat the orderly deliberation and discussion which the duty of the committee requires."

This did not satisfy the public, which argued that the absence of certain Republican members from the St. Paul meetings was just as susceptible of misconstruction as the report of the minority. The advocates of Messrs. Pinchot and Glavis held that this absence was intentional and prearranged with the purpose of preventing a quorum so the committee could not agree upon a report, it being well understood that the preponderance of testimony was against Mr. Ballinger.

Looked upon from an impartial viewpoint the whole affair is scandalous and unfortunate. It is the first time in American history when Federal officials of high rank have been involved, on anything like definite charges, in an effort to aid and protect monopolists at the expense of the public. To sum the case up in brief Secretary Ballinger stands accused of using his official influence as Secretary of the Interior, and previously as Commissioner of the General Land Office, to assist the Guggenheim syndicate in obtaining government title to valuable public lands which by right should be subject to entry only by actual settlers. Mr. Roosevelt has thus far kept out of the controversy although it concerns him deeply. While President he endorsed the course of both Mr. Pinchot and Mr. Glavis. Both had his active support in their efforts to frustrate the plans of the land grabbers. He gave them every possible aid, both moral and governmental. It is well known that it was Mr. Roosevelt who made Mr. Taft's nomination for the presidency possible, and yet it was one of the first official acts of the later to remove from office, and

thus stamp with disapproval, the men whom Mr. Roosevelt had endorsed and encouraged.

Without committing himself publicly on the matter at issue Mr. Roosevelt has, since the controversy assumed its most serious phase, assured Mr. Pinchot of his confidence in him and his official acts, and in other ways given silent evidence of the fact that he does not sanction the acts of his successor in the presidential chair. What effect, if any, this has had on the political relations of Messrs Roosevelt and Taft it is impossible to say. It is not reasonable to suppose that these relations can be as pleasant and harmonious as they were previous to the removal of Mr. Pinchot, and yet neither man has publicly said or done anything that could be construed as hostile criticism.

Conservation as furthered by Gifford Pinchot was a work in which Mr. Roosevelt was deeply interested; it received his best and most earnest attention. He had placed Mr. Pinchot in office to carry out a clearly defined plan, and encouraged him in every possible way. It is not natural that a man of Roosevelt's mental disposition, impetuous at times to the point of explosion, could sit idly by and view dispassionately the rude destruction and overturning of the work he had endeavored to build up, and the ignominious dismissal from public office of the person whom he had personally selected to take charge of it. And, to make the affair more unpleasant, this rebuff was administered, not by a political opponent or rival, but by the man who had been literally "boosted" into the presidential chair by Mr. Roosevelt himself.

Mr. Roosevelt is no longer classed among the President's "trusted advisers." He is not consulted on matters of public policy, and does not find occasion to visit at the White House, even in a purely formal

way. To the impartial observer it looks as if the friendly personal relations which once existed between the two men were badly strained. It would not be surprising if they were.

Few cities have been the scene of such public demonstration as marked the return of Mr. Roosevelt to New York, June 8th, 1910, from his hunting trip to Africa. The welcome given to the former President by hundreds of thousands of people has never been surpassed, or even equalled in the history of this country. Among the main features of the reception was a monster naval parade in the harbor, an official welcome by Mayor Gaynor, at the Battery, and a procession up Broadway, Mr. Roosevelt being attended by members of his old regiment, the Rough Riders, as an escort. At the conclusion of the ceremonies he retired to his home at Oyster Bay, Long Island, with his family, and quietly dropped out of public life.

The Roosevelt party was in Africa about one year, reaching Khartum, on the way back to civilization, March 14th, 1910. The return trip, which was made by way of Egypt, Italy, France, Germany, Scandinavia, and England, was marked by a succession of official and popular receptions in which all classes joined to pay their respects to the former President. Arrangements had been made for his presentation to the Pope, but on arrival in Rome these were abandoned, Mr. Roosevelt not caring to comply with conditions which he thought would limit his freedom of conduct. He was the honored guest of President Fallieres, of France; of Emperor William, of Germany; Emperor Francis Joseph, of Austria; Count Apponyi, of Hungary; Queen Wilhelmina, of Holland; Crown Prince Christian, of Denmark, and Crown Prince Gustav Adolf, of Sweden.

On nearly all of these occasions Mr. Roosevelt, as



is his custom, expressed his ideas with a great deal of frankness which, in most instances, must have been rather astonishing to the auditors, accustomed as they were to hearing only carefully-studied language from which any germ of thought contrary to the ruling methods had been extirpated. On two occasions Mr. Roosevelt's frankness of speech was productive of considerable criticism. On March 28th, 1910, returning from Africa, he stopped at Cairo, Egypt, and was invited to address the students. In the course of his remarks he denounced, in vigorous words, the assassination of the prime minister, Butros Pasha, which had occurred about a month before, the murderer being a Nationalist fanatic named Wardant. Mr. Roosevelt's unmeasured denunciation of this crime aroused the members of the Egyptian Nationalist party to fury, and they mobbed the hotel at which he was stopping. His words also caused great uneasiness in England, the home government at that time having serious problems to contend with in Egypt.

In accepting the freedom of the city of London at the Guildhall, May 31st, 1910, he referred to the British policy in Egypt, and again caused much comment. He intimated that, while Great Britain had given Egypt the best government that country had ever had, it had erred sadly in the direction of timidity and sentimentality. His plea was for a stronger, more vigorous enforcement of the British administration.

It was asserted that Mr. Roosevelt had no business to thus mix up in the political affairs of the country whose guest he was, and that his remarks were injudicious coming from a man who had been the executive of the United States. But, it should be remembered that Mr. Roosevelt at that time was a private citizen, and free to think and speak as he saw fit,

without reference to governmental complications. There may be question as to the wisdom of his course, especially in the matter of violating hospitality, but his words were devoid of any official significance. It was difficult at first to make the people of the old world understand this; they could not realize that a man once a ruler in a country where no revolution had taken place was not still the ruler, and speaking with the authority of office. In time, however, and a comparatively short time at that, all feelings of resentment passed away, and the impression became general that Roosevelt had spoken honestly and well. Oxford University (June 7th) conferred upon him the degree of doctor of civil law.

After retiring to Oyster Bay Mr. Roosevelt sank into obscurity so far as the public is concerned. Whether purposely or not, he remained in the background, taking small part in public affairs, and was rarely heard from.

## CHAPTER LXXXIX.

1910

### TAFT'S ADMINISTRATION—Continued.

President Calls for Permanent Board of Tariff Experts. — Urges Vigorous Execution of Interstate Commerce and Antitrust Statutes Before Changing Them.—His Pension Policy. — Names Democrat as Chief Justice of Federal Supreme Court.—Taft's Visit to the Panama Canal.—Progress of Construction.—Fortification of Canal Advocated.—Work of Second Session 61st Congress.—Large Reduction in Appropriations.—Death of the "Father of Aviation."

In his message to the closing session of the 61st Congress, delivered December 5th, 1910, President Taft advocated tariff revision by a permanent board of experts, and the handling of all tariff legislation on a business instead of a political basis. He further advised the placing of all postmasters under civil service, inauguration of a parcels post system on all rural delivery routes, fortification of the Panama Canal, federal incorporation of corporations doing an interstate business, increase of government conservation projects, and the granting of pensions to civil employees of the government.

In one respect at least the President's message was somewhat of a surprise to those who had been expecting the advocacy of a radical policy in the treatment of the transportation and anti-trust problems. Of these matters Mr. Taft said:

"Except as above, I do not recommend any amendment to the interstate commerce law as it stands. I do not now recommend any amendment to the anti-trust law. In other words, it seems to me that the existing legislation with reference to the regulation



of corporations and the restraint of their business has reached a point where we can stop for a while and witness the effect of the vigorous execution of the laws on the statute books in restraining the abuses which certainly did exist and which roused the public to demand reform. If this test develops a need for further legislation, well and good, but until then let us execute what we have. Due to the reform movements of the present decade there has undoubtedly been a great improvement in business methods and standards.

"The great body of business men of this country, those who are responsible for its commercial development, now have an earnest desire to obey the law and to square their conduct of business to its requirements and limitations. These will doubtless be made clearer by the decisions of the Supreme court in cases pending before it.

"I believe it to be in the interest of all the people of the country that for the time being the activities of government, in addition to enforcing the existing law, be directed toward the economy of administration and the enlargement of opportunities for foreign trade, the conservation and improvement of our agricultural lands, the building up of home industries and the strengthening of confidence of capital in domestic investment."

In using the words "except as above," in that part of his message bearing on the transportation and antitrust problems President Taft referred to the necessity for a national valuation of all railway properties, and for legislation that would prevent the issuance of fraudulent bills of lading, especially for goods shipped abroad. In this connection he said:

"For the protection of our own people and the preservation of our credit in foreign trade I urge upon Congress the immediate enactment of a law under

which one who, in good faith, advances money or credit upon a bill of lading issued by a common carrier upon an interstate or foreign shipment can hold the carrier liable for the value of the goods described in the bill at the valuation specified in the bill, at least to the extent of the advances made in reliance upon it."

Regarding interstate commerce, mindful doubtless of his failure to obtain from Congress the amendments he had previously requested, the President said:

"There has not been time to test the benefit and utility of the amendments to the interstate-commerce law contained in the act approved June 18, 1910. The law as enacted did not contain all the features which I recommend. It did not specifically denounce as unlawful the purchase by one or two parallel and competing roads of the stock of the other. Nor did it subject to the restraining influence of the interstate-commerce commission the power of corporations engaged in operating interstate railroads to issue new stock and bonds; nor did it authorize the making of temporary agreements between railroads, limited to thirty days, fixing the same rate for traffic between the same places.

"I do not press the consideration of any of these objects upon Congress at this session. The object of the first provision is probably generally covered by the antitrust law. The second provision was in the act referred to the consideration of a commission to be appointed by the executive and to report upon the matter to Congress. That commission has been appointed and is engaged in the investigation and consideration of the question submitted under the law. The third proposal led to so much misconstruction of its object, as being that of weakening the effectiveness of the antitrust law, that I am not

disposed to press it for further consideration. It was intended to permit railroad companies to avoid useless rate cutting by a mere temporary acquiescence in the same rates, for the same service over competing railroads, with no obligation whatever to maintain those rates for any time.

"The protection of railroad employes from personal injury is a subject of the highest importance and demands continuing attention. There have been two measures pending in Congress, one for the supervision of boilers and the other for the enlargement of dangerous clearances. Certainly some measures ought to be adopted looking to a prevention of accidents for these causes."

He advocated the establishment of a court of nations for the settlement of international disputes, praised the new tariff law, called for an increase in the army, favored a national incorporation law, urged reform in the procedure in both Federal and state courts so as to simplify and lessen litigation, said that a curb on reckless issuance of injunctions was essential, endorsed the parcel posts on all rural delivery routes, reported favorable progress on the Panama canal and advocated its fortification, as well as that of the Philippines, and, while insisting upon a liberal pension policy toward all deserving veterans, said great care should be taken not to distribute the bounty of the government to mere mercenaries who obtain a legal relation with veterans tottering on the brink of the grave. In this latter statement the President clearly had reference to the growing practice of young women marrying old soldiers simply in order to collect a widow's pension, a practice that has become very general, and has tended to keep the pension list enormously large despite the fact that the veterans themselves are dying off at the rate of 3,000 a month.



An interesting part of this message was President Taft's explanation of a loan of \$50,000,000 by American bankers to China to be used in railway extensions. President Taft said that this loan was a move to internationalize Chinese railways which had been previously financed almost exclusively by foreign countries, and to assure to American merchants a fair interest in Chinese trade.

On this subject the President said:

"It is gratifying to note that the negotiations for a loan to the Chinese government for the construction of the trunk railway lines from Hankow southward to Canton and westward through the Yangtse valley, known as the Hukuang loan, were concluded by the representatives of the various groups in May last and the results approved by their respective governments. The agreement, already initiated by the Chinese government, is now awaiting formal ratification. The basis of the settlement of the terms of this loan was one of exact equality between America, Great Britain, France and Germany in respect to financing the loan and supplying materials for the proposed railways and their future branches.

"The application of the principle underlying the policy of the United States in regard to the Hukuang loan, viz., that of the internationalization of the foreign interests in such of the railways of China as may be financed by foreign countries, was suggested on a broader scale by the Secretary of State in a proposal for internationalization and commercial neutralization of all the railways of Manchuria. While the principle which led to the proposal of this government was generally admitted by the powers to whom it was addressed, the governments of Russia and Japan apprehended practical difficulties in the execution of the larger plan which prevented their ready adherence. The question of constructing the

Chinchow-Aigun railway by means of an international loan to China is, however, still the subject of friendly discussion by the interested parties.

"The policy of this government in these matters has been directed by a desire to make the use of American promotion of China's welfare and material prosperity without prejudice to her legitimate rights as an independent political power.

"This policy has recently found further exemplification in the assistance given by this government to the negotiations between China and a group of American bankers for a loan of \$50,000,000 to be employed chiefly in currency reform. The confusion which has from ancient times existed in the monetary usages of the Chinese has been one of the principal obstacles to commercial intercourse with that people. The United States in its treaty of 1903 with China obtained a pledge from the latter to introduce a uniform national coinage, and the following year, at the request of China, this government sent to Peking a member of the international exchange commission, to discuss with the Chinese government the best methods of introducing the reform.

"In 1908 China sent a commissioner to the United States to consult with American financiers as to the possibility of securing a large loan with which to inaugurate the new currency system, but the death of his majesties, the empress dowager and the emperor of China, interrupted the negotiations, which were not resumed until a few months ago, when this government was asked to communicate to the bankers concerned the request of China for a loan of \$50,000,000 for the purpose under review. A preliminary agreement between the American group and China has been made covering the loan.

"For the success of this loan and the contemplated reforms, which are of the greatest importance to the

commercial interests of the United States and the civilized world at large, it is realized that an expert will be necessary, and this government has received assurances from China that such an adviser, who shall be an American, will be engaged."

He strongly endorsed the revolution in Nicaragua which led to the unseating of President Zelaya, and called attention to our trade relations with Canada, urging further advances in the line of reciprocity, and favored the more rapid development of an American marine by mail subsidies, or similar subventions. He admitted that, owing to the haste in preparation, the Aldrich-Payne tariff act was open to honest criticism, and predicted good results from the work of the tariff board, the plan of which is to take up one schedule at a time and secure legislation on it, thus avoiding the evil of conflicting interests from which the country has suffered in the past.

Considered as a whole it was an admirable document, calm and judicious in tone, and, while advocating radical changes and departures from established precedents, replete with common sense in the manner of presenting the suggested changes and the reasons for making them.

Secretary-of-War Dickinson, on December 15, 1910, sent to Congress a document which precipitated a sensation, and caused a lot of uneasiness, as well as an incipient war scare, until it was withdrawn and the explanation made that its transmission was a mistake. This document was a report on the defenseless condition of our coasts, the Secretary holding that they were inadequately protected from invasion by foreign powers. He submitted it to the House as a secret communication, but that body declined to receive it as such, insisting and very properly that the House could not entertain a report from a public official as a secret communication, all papers



dealing with public affairs being the property of the people.

It then developed that the report had never been submitted to President Taft for his approval. It was drawn up by General Leonard Wood, chief of staff of the army, for the guidance of Secretary Dickinson in making a statement on the necessity for improving our coast defenses, and had been sent to the House through an error. There was a lot of sharp discussion, but in the end the results were beneficial, a bill being introduced for the creation of a national council on defense.

There was no serious attack on the truth of the statements contained in the report; merely a question as to the advisability of making the world acquainted with the defenseless condition of the American coasts and thus inviting possible invasion from hostile powers. The public, misinterpreting the purpose and tenor of the document, conceived the false idea that war with some foreign nation was imminent, and it was several weeks before this feeling was fully allayed.

When Congress met in December, 1910, the committee which had been investigating the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy filed three reports. Two of these were from the minority, both holding Mr. Ballinger guilty and recommending his dismissal from office. One of these reports, as outlined in Chapter LXXXVIII, was signed by the four Democratic members, and the other by Representative Madison, of Kansas, (Rep.) The majority declared that Mr. Ballinger had "honestly and faithfully performed the duties of his office with an eye single to the public interest." This later report was adopted.

Mr. Ballinger was at once besieged with questions as to whether he intended to resign, to all of which he replied "No, why should I?" Calmly considered

in the light of the evidence brought out before the committee, and taken in connection with Mr. Ballinger's previous position as an attorney for the claimants, the majority report was a most peculiar verdict, explainable only on the hypothesis that the political majority thought it its duty to endorse the acts of its agents.

In 1910 President Taft, at the suggestion of Colonel Goethals, the engineer in charge of the work, made a visit of inspection to the Panama canal zone, going over the entire route carefully and noting minutely the progress of construction. In reporting the results of his visit to Congress the President said:

"The progress of the work is most satisfactory. If no unexpected obstacle presents itself the canal will be completed well within the time fixed by Colonel Goethals, to wit, January 1st, 1915, and within the estimate of cost, \$375,000,000."

After giving considerable attention to the land slides which have occurred in the Culebra cut, and elsewhere along the canal route, and explaining the cause as being due to the treacherous nature of the soil, President Taft went to explain that these slides, contrary to newspaper reports, were not of a nature to seriously delay the work. He said that the total of extra excavation thus made necessary would not exceed 10,000,000 yards, and pointed to the fact that, as the average monthly excavation is 1,300,000 yards for every month in the year, the amount of extra work is comparatively insignificant. He added that the entire excavation remaining to be done, including the slides, does not exceed 30,000,000 yards. Continuing, he said:

"Among questions arising from present solution is the decision whether the canal should be fortified. I have already stated to the Congress that I strongly favor fortification, and now I reiterate this opinion

and ask your consideration of the subject in the light of the report already before you, made by a competent board.

"If, in our discretion, we believe modern fortifications to be necessary to the adequate protection and policing of the canal, then it is our duty to construct them. We have built the canal. It is our property. By convention we have indicated our desire for, and, indeed, undertaken its universal and equal use. It is also well known that one of the chief objects in the construction of the canal has been to increase the effectiveness of our navy. Failure to fortify the canal would have the attainment of both these aims in the position of rights and obligations which we should be powerless to enforce and which could never in any other way be absolutely safeguarded against a desperate and irresponsible enemy.

"Another question which arises for consideration and possible legislation is the question of tolls in the canal. This question is necessarily affected by the probable tonnage which will go through the canal. It is all a matter of estimate, but one of the government commission in 1900 investigated the question and made a report. He concluded that the total tonnage of the vessels employed in commerce that could use the isthmian canal in 1915 would amount to 6,843,805 tons net register, and that this traffic would increase 25.1 per cent per decade; that it was not probable that all the commerce included in the totals would at once abandon the routes at present followed and make use of the new canal, and that it might take some time, perhaps two years, to readjust trade with reference to the new conditions which the canal would establish. He did not include, moreover, the tonnage of war vessels, although it is to be inferred that such vessels would make considerable use of the canal. In the matter of tolls he reached the conclu-



sion that a dollar a net ton would not drive business away from the canal, but that a higher rate would do so.

"In determining what the tolls should be we certainly ought not to insist that for a good many years to come they should amount to enough to pay the interest on the investment which the United States has made in the construction of the canal. We ought not to do this, first, because the benefits to be derived by the United States from this expenditure are not to be measured solely by a return upon the investment. If it were, then the construction might well have been left to private enterprise. It was because an adequate return upon the money invested could not be expected immediately, or in the near future, and because there were peculiar political advantages to be derived from the construction of the canal, that it necessarily fell to the government to advance the money and perform the work.

"In addition to the benefit to our naval strength the canal trade greatly increases the trade facilities of the United States. It will undoubtedly cheapen the rates of transportation of all freight between the eastern and western seaboard and it will greatly increase that trade by reason of the reduction in its cost. Then, if we are to have a world canal and if we are anxious that the routes of the world's trade shall be through the Panama canal, we must recognize that we have an active competitor in the Suez canal. Then, too, there are other means of crossing the isthmus—by the Tehuantepec railroad and by other railroads and freight routes in Central America to the Atlantic side.

"In all these cases the question whether the Panama canal is to be used and its tonnage increased will be determined mainly by the charge for its use. My own impression is that the tolls ought not to exceed

\$1 per net ton. On January 1, 1911, the tolls in the Suez canal are to be 7 francs and 25 centimes for one net ton by Suez canal measurement, which is a modification of Danube measurement. A dollar a ton will secure under the figures above a gross income from the Panama canal of nearly \$7,000,000. The cost of maintenance and operation is estimated to exceed \$3,000,000. Ultimately, of course, with the normal increase in trade, the income will approximate the interest charge upon the investment.

"On the whole I should recommend that within certain limits the President be authorized to fix the tolls of the canal and adjust them to what seems to be commercial necessity.

"The inquiries already made of the chief engineer of the canal show that the present consideration of this question is necessary in order that the commerce of the world may have time to adjust itself to the new conditions resulting from the opening of this new highway.

"The next question that arises is as to the maintenance, management and general control of the canal after its completion. It should not be premised that it is an essential part of our naval establishment to have the coal, oil and other ship supplies, a dry dock and repair shop, conveniently located with reference to naval vessels passing through the canal. Now, if the government for naval purposes is to undertake to furnish these conveniences to the navy—and they are conveniences equally required by commercial vessels—here would seem to be strong reasons why the government should take over and include in its management the furnishing, not only to the navy but to the public, dry-dock and repair-shop facilities and the sale of coal, oil and other ship supplies.

"The maintenance of a lock canal of this enormous

size in a sparsely populated country and in the tropics, where the danger from disease is always present, requires a large and complete and well-trained organization with full police powers, exercising the utmost care. The visitor to the canal who is impressed with the wonderful freedom from tropical diseases on the isthmus must not be misled as to the constant vigilance that is needed to preserve this condition. The vast machinery of the locks, the necessary amount of dredging, the preservation of the banks of the canal from slides, the operation and the maintenance of the equipment of the railway will all require a force, not, of course, to be likened in any way to the present organization for construction, but a skilled body of men who can keep in a state of usefulness this great instrument of commerce. Such an organization makes it easy to include within its functions the furnishing of dry docks, fuel, repairs and supply facilities to the trade of the world. These will be more essential at the Isthmus of Panama than they are at Port Said or Suez, because there are no depots for coal supplies and other commercial necessities within thousands of miles of the isthmus.

"Another important reason why these ancillary duties may well be undertaken by the government is the opportunity for discrimination between patrons of the canal that is offered where private concessions are granted for the furnishing of these facilities. Nothing would create greater prejudice against the canal than the suspicion that certain lines of traffic were favored in the furnishing of supplies or that the supplies were controlled by any large interest that might have a motive for increasing the cost of the use of the canal. It may be added that the termini are not ample enough to permit the fullest competition in respect to the furnishing of these facilities and necessities to the world's trade, even if it were



wise to invite such competition, and the granting of the concession would necessarily, under these circumstances, take on the appearance of privilege or monopoly.

"I cannot close this reference to the canal without suggesting as a wise amendment to the interstate-commerce law a provision prohibiting interstate-commerce railroads from owning or controlling ships engaged in the trade through the Panama canal. I believe such a provision may be needed to save to the people of the United States the benefits of the competition in trade between the eastern and western seaboard which this canal was constructed to secure."

There can be no misunderstanding of the President's position as regards the construction of the canal, or its management after completion. His language is too plain to admit of misinterpretation. He looks upon it as a purely American enterprise, to be governed and controlled solely by Americans without interference from other Powers, but in the interest of the world at large, always, however, keeping in view the fact that, first, last, and all the time, the American government is to be the sole arbiter of what may or may not be done. So far as the country is concerned there can be no doubt but that his position is a popular one.

At the time the last official annual report was made, December 31, 1910, 123,958,967 cubic yards of earth and rock had been excavated, of which 31,608,242 yards were taken out in 1910. There then remained, according to the estimates of the government engineers, a total of 58,578,799 yards to be removed. During the first eight months of 1911, from the 1st of January to the 31st of August, an additional 10,400,000 yards were excavated, but this work virtually counted for nothing as it was about counter-balanced

by the unexpected slides that occurred at Culebra and elsewhere. Despite this further progress has since been made so that the total amount of excavation still to be done is about 30,000,000 yards.

Up to December 31, 1910, the work had cost a total of \$255,093,269.32. It is estimated that, before the canal can be opened to commerce, it will be necessary to expend fully \$120,000,000 more, bringing the whole cost up to \$375,000,000, inclusive of expenditures for administration and sanitation. The construction work itself will cost \$325,000,000. To this should be added \$40,000,000 paid the old French company for its supposed rights, and \$10,000,000 to the Republic of Panama for the cession of the territory known as the canal zone, and over which the United States now has jurisdiction.

Briefly stated the main purpose in the construction of this gigantic waterway, aside from its strategic advantage, is to afford a short cut for ocean commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, doing away with the long expensive journey via Cape Horn, or through the Straits of Magellan, just as the Suez canal shortens the ocean route to India by eliminating the passage around the Cape of Good Hope.

The year 1910 will long be remembered for the munificence of private gifts and bequests to the cause of education and charity, the total reaching the enormous sum of \$141,604,538. Of this large amount Andrew Carnegie contributed \$19,664,325, as against \$4,652,500 in 1909, making his total donations to the end of 1910 \$179,500,000. John D. Rockefeller in 1910 gave \$16,039,000, as against \$12,130,500 the year before, his total gifts footing up \$135,000,000. Most of these generous gifts were made in high-class interest-bearing securities. The history of the world fails to reveal anything like it.

Another move by President Taft in 1910 which

occasioned considerable surprise, but met with almost universal approval, was the elevation of Edward W. White, of Louisiana, to the chief justiceship of the United States supreme court, made vacant by the death of Melville W. Fuller, of Illinois. John M. Harlan was the oldest ranking associate justice, having held office since 1877, but, on account of his advanced years, and the possibility of early retirement, the place was given to Justice White. The latter is a Democrat, and during the civil war was an ardent supporter of the Confederacy. His appointment to the position of chief justice by a Republican president was accepted, not only as a testimonial to his high character and legal ability, but as an earnest indication of the entire eradication of sectional hostility.

Summing up the work of the second session of the 61st Congress the bills enacted may be enumerated as follows:

Act to establish postal savings banks; passed by Senate March 5; by House June 9; approved June 25.

Act to establish a commerce court and to amend the interstate-commerce law; passed by House May 10; by Senate June 3; approved June 18.

Act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to make temporary withdrawals of public lands in aid of national conservation; passed by House March 8, by Senate March 10; approved March 15.

Act amending immigration law so as to provide for the suppression of the "white slave" traffic; passed by House January 12; by Senate February 11; approved March 26.

Act amending law relating to employers' liability to their employes in certain cases; passed by House February 23; by Senate April 1; approved April 5.

Act supplementary to law requiring safety appli-



ances on railroads; passed by House December 15; by Senate February 21; approved April 14.

Act to protect the seal fisheries of Alaska; passed by Senate March 23; by House April 18; approved April 21.

Act requiring railroads to report all accidents to the interstate-commerce commission; passed by House December 15; by Senate April 7; approved May 6.

Act providing for the raising of the Maine in Havana harbor; passed by House March 23; by Senate May 4; approved May 9,

Act to establish the Glacier National park in Montana; passed by Senate February 9; by House April 13; approved May 11.

Act to establish, for the protection of miners, a bureau of mines in interior department; passed by House January 25; by Senate May 2; approved May 16.

Act establishing a committee of fine arts to advise as to statues, fountains and monuments in the District of Columbia; passed by House February 9; by Senate May 3; approved May 17.

Act providing for publicity of campaign contributions; passed by House April 18; by Senate June 22; approved June 25.

Act authorizing President of the United States to make withdrawals of public lands in certain cases to preserve reservoir sites and water powers on government land; passed by House April 20; by Senate June 15; approved June 25.

Act authorizing issue of \$20,000,000 in bonds to be used by the President in completing irrigation projects now under way; passed by House June 21; by Senate June 22; approved June 25.

Act prohibiting transportation for immoral pur-

poses of women and girls; passed by House January 26; by Senate June 25; approved June 25.

Act making appropriations for the navy and authorizing the construction of two battleships; passed by House April 8; by Senate March 24; approved June 21.

Act reorganizing lighthouse service and providing for a bureau of lighthouses in the department of commerce and labor; passed by House May 2; by Senate May 12; approved June 17.

Appropriations made at this session amounted to \$1,027,901,629. Of this \$13,487,636 was given to agriculture; \$95,440,567 to the army; \$4,116,081 to the diplomatic and consular service; \$10,608,045 for the District of Columbia; \$5,617,200 for fortifications; \$9,266,528 to Indian service; \$34,158,767 for legislative purposes; \$1,856,249 to the military academy; \$131,350,834 to the navy; \$155,758,000 for pensions; \$243,907,020 post office maintenance; \$41,329,113 for rivers and harbors; \$114,080,101 sundry civil purposes. In addition to these items there was an urgent deficiency in 1910 of \$5,767,699, and an ordinary deficiency of \$6,954,986. Miscellaneous items called for \$2,500,000, and advances to reclamation fund \$20,000,000. The total regular appropriations were \$896,198,851, and the permanent annual \$130,934,595, the grand total being \$1,027,901,629, the odd cents being omitted from the total of each appropriation as made. In addition to this the 61st Congress at its first session appropriated \$11,261,410 for the taking of the thirteenth census, making a total of \$1,039,163,039. Large as this amount may appear it shows a material saving from the appropriations made by the six preceding bodies, the average of these bodies being \$1,668,844,280. The various Congresses from 1889 to 1909 appropriated a total of \$10,013,065,685. None of the bodies came

within \$401,326,397 of reaching the economical record made by the 61st Congress. The most saving, previous to this, was the 56th of 1901-1902 its appropriations amounting to \$1,440,489,438. The most expensive was the 60th, in 1908-1909, its appropriations reaching the enormous sum of \$2,052,411,841, from which it derived the title of "the two-billion dollar Congress."

Record of the history made in 1910 would be incomplete without mention of the death of Octave Chanute, of Chicago, who has justly been called the "father of aviation." For many years, beginning in 1896, Mr. Chanute had expended his time and money in efforts to solve the problem of aerial navigation. That he finally succeeded, and that it was due to his preliminary work that others were induced to take up and perfect flying machines, is made plain by the following statement from Wilbur Wright, made on hearing of Mr. Chanute's death, November 23, 1910:

"By the death of Mr. Chanute the world has lost one whose labors had to an unusual degree influenced the course of human progress. If he had not lived it is probable that the entire history of advance in flying would have been other than what it is, for he encourage not only the Wright brothers to persevere in their experiments, but it was due to his missionary trip to France in 1903 that the Voisins, Bleriot, Farman, DeLagrange and Archdeacon were led to undertake a revival of aviation studies in that country after the failures of Ader and the French government in 1897 had left everyone in idle despair."

Mr. Chanute was a most unselfish man. Coming to this country from France when a boy he accumulated a competency by his skill as a civil engineer, and took up the study of aviation as a pastime. After many experiments with gliders at considerable cost he solved the problem of maintaining equilibrium



in the air. Instead of taking out patents on his discovery he freely placed his knowledge at the disposal of others without charge and encouraged them in perfecting aeroplanes until the Wright brothers, largely through his advice and suggestion, startled the world with their successful trips through the air at Fort Meyer, near Washington, in 1909. He then retired, content with the fact that it was mainly through his efforts that aviation had been actually accomplished. No man who was really interested in the art of aviation appealed to him in vain. He gave freely of his fund of practical information, and of his money, without hope or expectation of reward. He did not ask even for public acknowledgement. It was enough for him to know that something in the way of progress, no matter how small, or seemingly trivial, had been accomplished.

It is an open secret that for years after he had begun his experiments Mr. Chanute was mocked and laughed at by so-called scientific men. Some went so far as to call him crazy. But he persevered in a modest, non-public way, unmindful of the jeers thrown at him, and finally had the rich reward of being successful, and having his ideas adopted without question by men who have since become renowned in the mastery of the skies. There is not an intelligent, fair-minded man interested in aviation today who will not cheerfully admit that the wonderful results now being obtained would have been impossible but for the patient, kindly nature, and the researches and experiments of Octave Chanute.







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